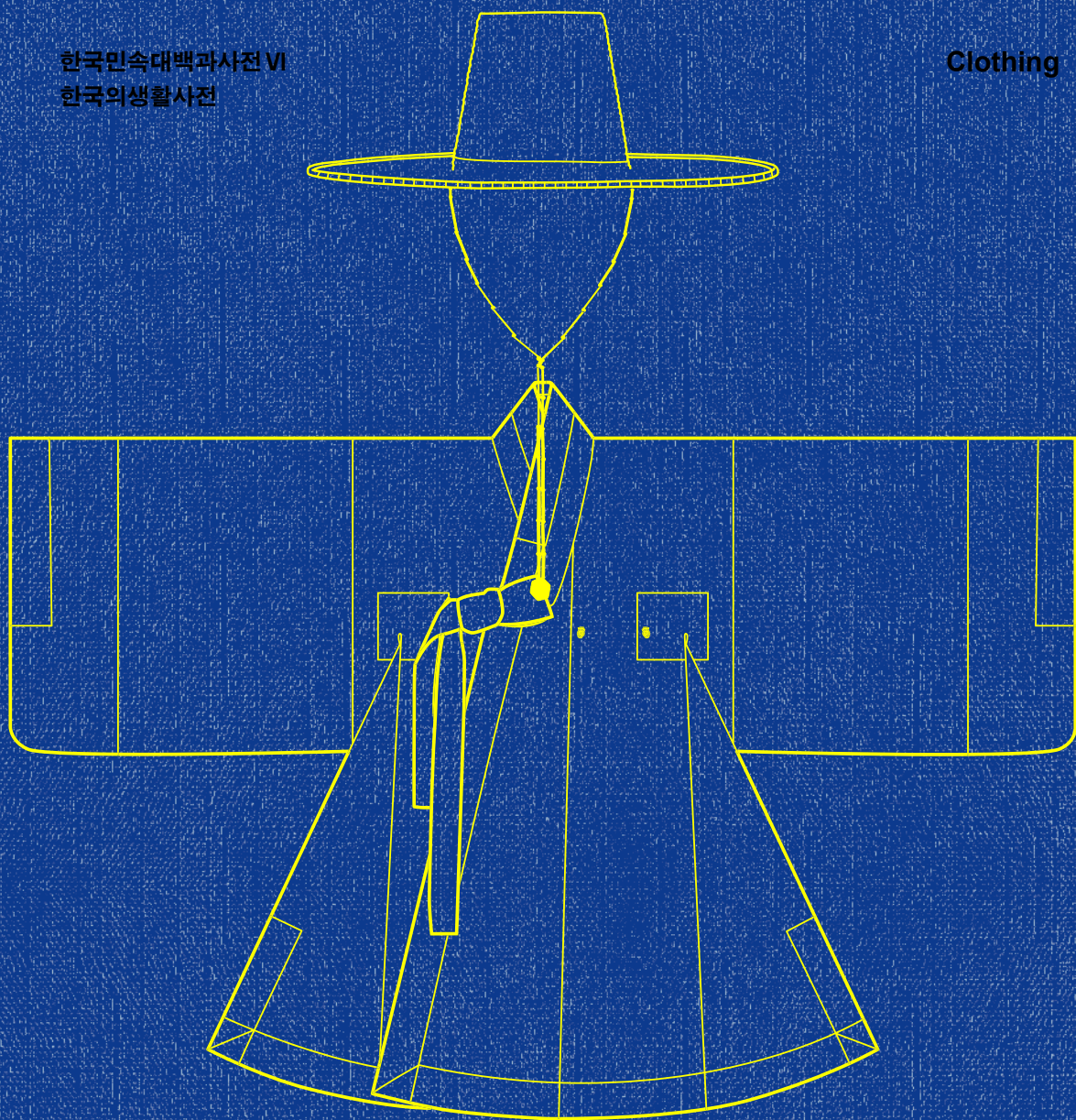


Clothing

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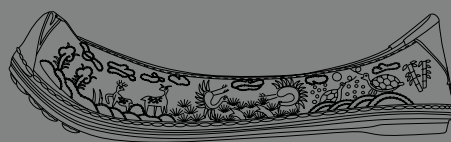
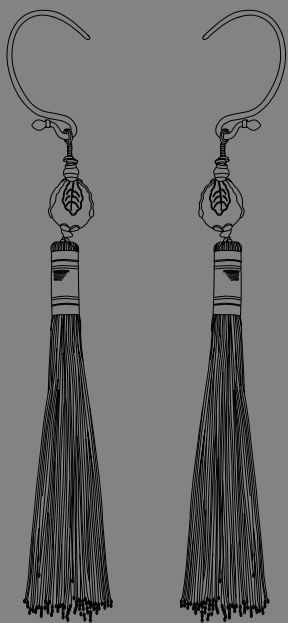
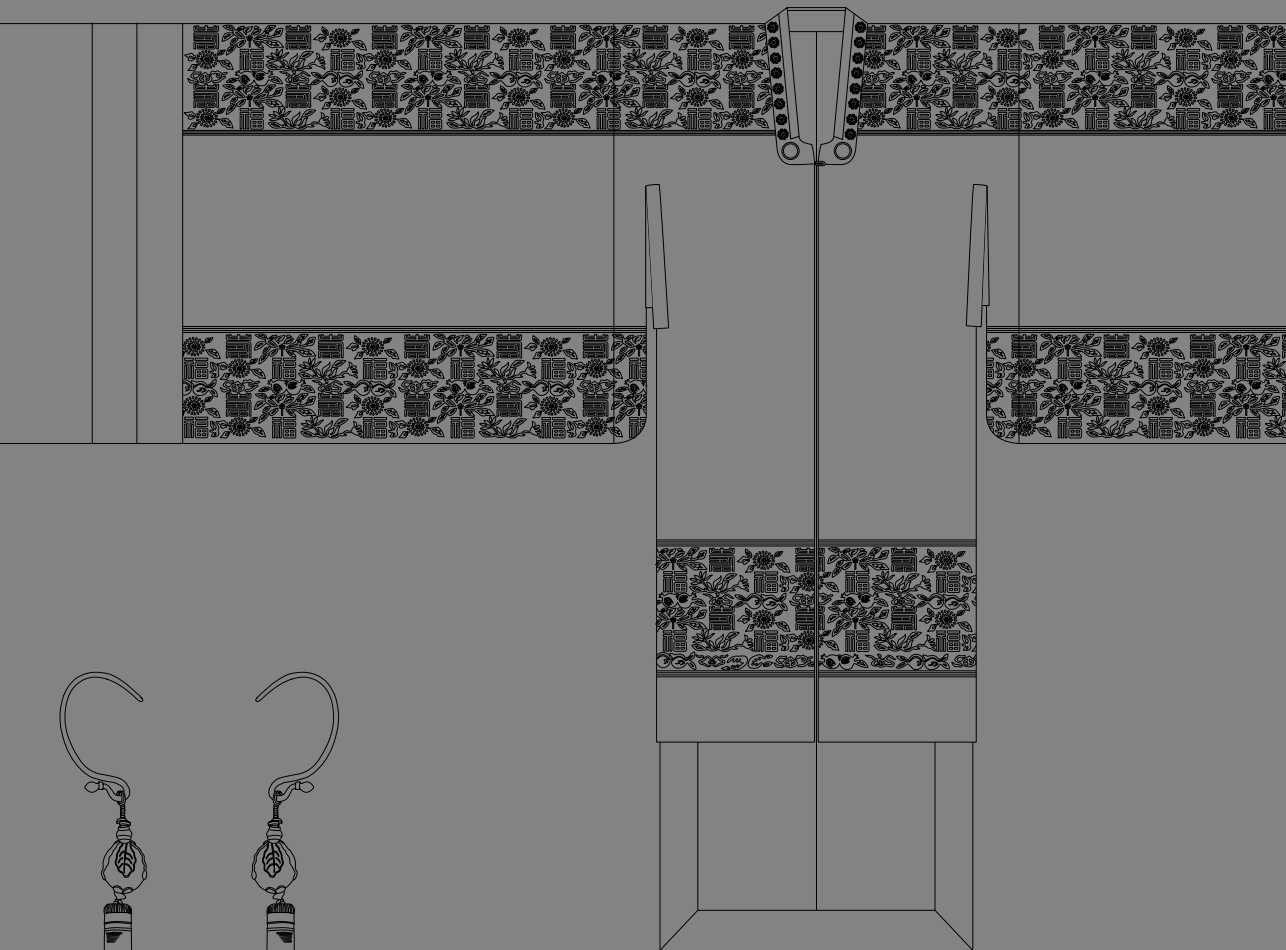
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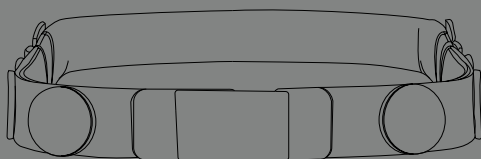
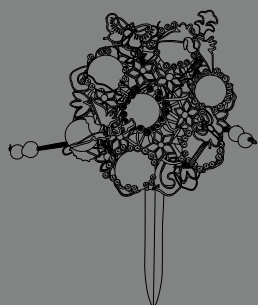
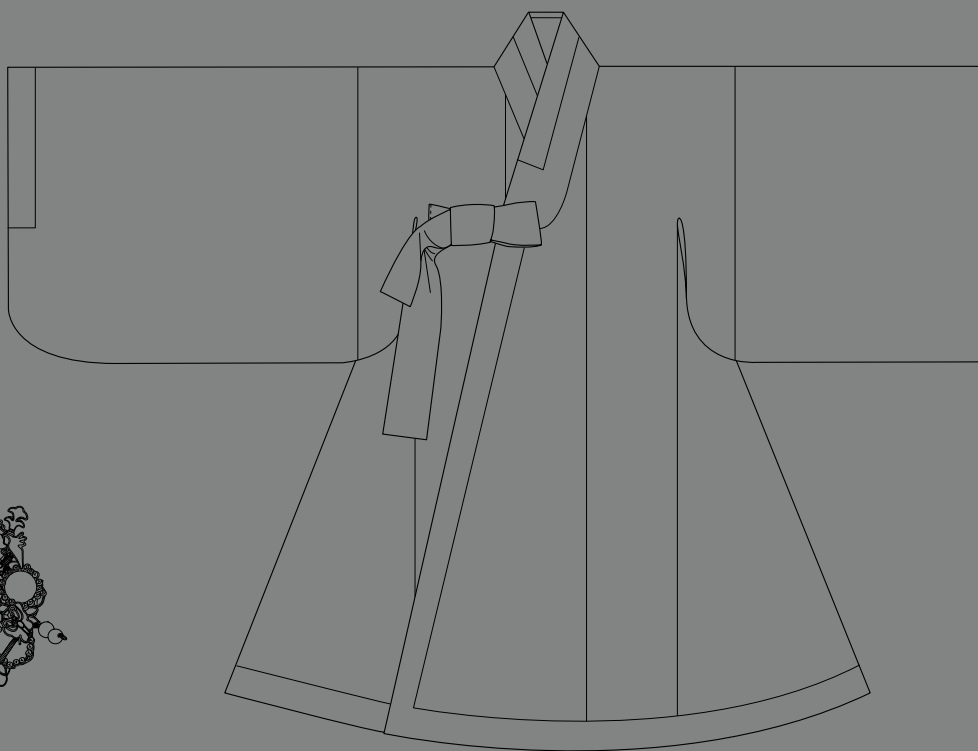
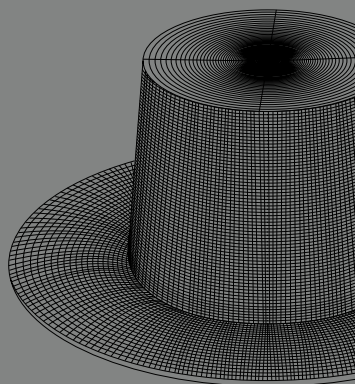
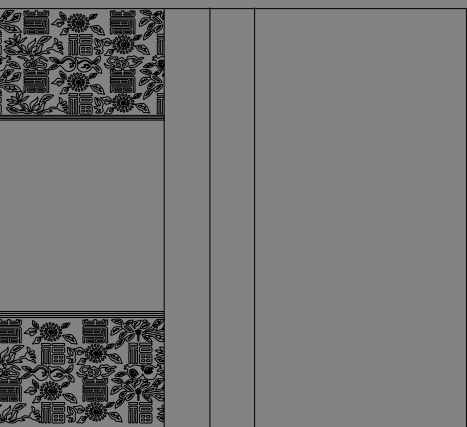
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TRADITIONAL KOREAN CLOTHING

Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture Vol. VI

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TRADITIONAL
KOREAN CLOTHING

National Folk Museum of Korea





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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TRADITIONAL KOREAN CLOTHING

Foreword

Interest in the intangible cultural heritage of humanity is greater these days than ever before. UNESCO continues to produce a list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity to safeguard and preserve the precious traditional cultural heritage of communities around the world. In the midst of such heightened awareness, the National Folk Museum of Korea has compiled a vast quantity of materials that attest to the spiritual roots of the Korean people, and has been publishing the ongoing *Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture* since 2002.

To publish encyclopedias that are useful to both ordinary people and specialists alike, the collected materials on Korean folk culture were divided into eight themes. As of 2020, we have published the *Encyclopedia of Korean Seasonal Customs*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Beliefs*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Literature*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Rites of Passage*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Art*, and *Encyclopedia of Clothing, Food, and Housing in Korea*. By 2027, the *Encyclopedia of Occupations and Skills in Korea*, and *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Society* will be added to this series.

In addition, an English language edition will be published following completion of each Korean edition of an encyclopedia on a particular theme. The National Folk Museum of Korea will continue to produce the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture* series, hoping that such efforts will lead to a complete compilation of books on Korea's folk cultural heritage, which has been passed down for thousands of years.

Lastly, I would like to thank all those who worked so hard to produce this volume, the *Encyclopedia of Traditional Korean Clothing*, including the translators, authors, advisors, and editors. Also, my heartfelt thanks go to the staff of the museum's encyclopedia compilation team, who have spared no time or effort in realizing this project.

Kim Jong-dae

Director General
National Folk Museum of Korea
August 2021

Encyclopedia of Traditional Korean Clothing

Notes

- This encyclopedia is the English-language edition of the *Encyclopedia of Traditional Korean Clothing*, a part of the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture* series published by the National Folk Museum of Korea.
- The entires in this encyclopedia are divided into the categories of clothes, shoes, accessories and ornaments, material and dyeing, and arranged in alphabetical order within each category.
- The sources or holding institutions are provided for the photos, figures, and illustrations that facilitate the understanding of the content.

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Encyclopedia of
Traditional Korean Clothing

한국의생활사전

CLOTHES

옷

Hats 모자

Upper garments 상의

Lower garments 하의

Outer garments 겉옷

Undergarments 속옷

Belts 대 帶

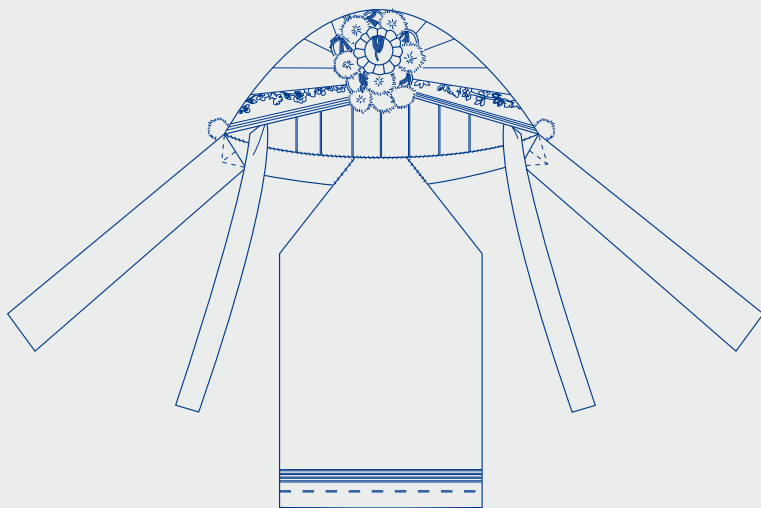
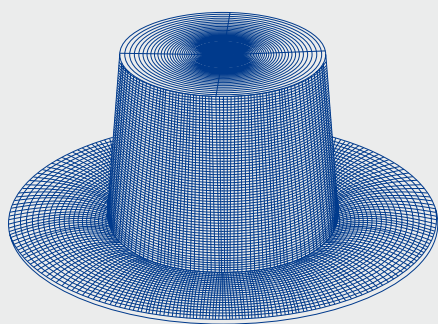
Modern clothing 근대복식

Sets of attire 일습

Terms 용어

Hats

모자



Moja

모자 帽子
Hat

Generic name for all sorts of hats, ranging from practical hats worn to protect the head against the cold or heat to ornamental headgear designed to enhance one's beauty or show one's dignity, and hats with social significance worn to mark a ceremonial occasion and express social class.

Hats were worn in Korea from before the Three Kingdoms period. There are four types of hats worn from ancient times: *geon* (hood), *ip* (bamboo hat), *mo* (cap), and *gwan* (hat, crown). Each type includes countless different kinds of hats. Based on their common nature as items worn

on the head, they are all called *sseugae* in pure Korean language. However, the term *gwanmo* was used to distinguish hats that had the social function of indicating rank or social class or ceremonial usage from other *sseugae*. Therefore, the hats worn by government officials were generally called *gwanmo*.

In the concept of traditional Korean clothing, the hat was not just a functional item to protect against cold, sunlight or rain; greater importance was placed on its role in expressing social status or following proper etiquette. Thus great meaning is invested in *gwanmo*, which have changed and developed in various ways.

Koreans from long in the past have considered hats to be important items of their attire. They considered a bare head to be the sign of a commoner or convict and thus wore hats outside the house of course, but also indoors. The only times they went hatless were when they

Panama hat



Bowler hat



Beret



Children's hat





Government officials of Joseon in a photo postcard | Modern era | National Folk Museum of Korea



Hat seller at a traditional market in Daegu



Nosang takbal (Monks Begging for Alms Outdoors) by Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation

used the outhouse, when they went to bed, or if they had committed a crime.

Added to the strict masculine character and military element of hats in ancient times was the idea of neat and proper attire (*uigwanjeong-jae*). Korean hats were imbued with the added social role of *gwanmo*. *Gwanmo*, which were established as an important part of Korean costume, were a way of following proper etiquette and were divided into types according to age, social status, and usage. With the policy of simplification of dress following the introduction of Western culture and the edict prohibiting top-knots made in 1895 at the time of the Eulmi reforms, the tradition of wearing hats such as *gat* or *gwan* gradually disappeared. Consequently, the Korean etiquette stating that one must wear a hat to be dressed properly disappeared as well.

The meaning of such change in the hair ornamentation customs of Korea, which had lasted for two thousand years, was extinction of the class system. During the Joseon Dynasty the Confucian values of order and discipline, sense of rank, and formalism were embodied in the attire; in clothing that maintained form and ceremony people aspired to the values of dignity and authority. The idea of always being neatly and properly dressed was one expression of such aspiration, but in modern society, where Western-style dress has become the norm, there are no such values that are directly linked with clothing as symbols of social status. Thus Korean hats, whose significance as *gwanmo* symbolizing rank and social class was emphasized, have changed in role so that they are mostly fashion items that reflect the trends of the times.



Ayam, women's winter hat | Length: 132 cm, Width: 28 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea



Young gisaeng wearing ayam, winter hat | 1909 | National Folk Museum of Korea

Ayam

아얌

Ornamental women's winter cap

Winter hat worn by the women of Joseon when going out. It is open at the top and does not have flaps to cover the ears but it does cover the forehead and has long ribbons at the back.

Most winter hats from Joseon originated from *ieom*, which began to appear in documents from the early Joseon period. Ayam were first worn as a women's winter hat in the late Joseon Dynasty, not only to keep warm but also for decorative purposes. It is open at the top and does not cover the ears but the forehead only. There are ribbons called *deurim daenggi* attached to the back. It can be assumed that ayam was expressed as *aegeom* (Kor. 액엄, Chin. 額掩, lit. forehead cover) in Chinese characters, taking into account its shape which covers the forehead only. According to *Aeongakbi* (*Correct Concepts for the Rectification of Errors*), a study on etymology authored by Jeong Yak-yong, a scholar of the *silhak* (practical learning) school, hats worn by central government officials, which were big and high, were called *ieom*, and those worn by low-ranking local government officials, which were wrapped around the head, were called *aegeom*.

The ayam is composed of *mobu*, which covers the head, and *deurim*, the large ribbons draping down at the back. This headband-style hat does not cover the ears. It was worn only around the upper section of the head and was mostly made of black silk. A section 4-5 cm long in the upper part of the *mobu* was finely quilted and the centerline in the front was

shorter than the one at the back. The right and left seams of the front and back centers are slightly curved, which makes the hat fit tightly over the head. The bottom edge at the front is also more curved than the bottom edge at the back. The quilted upper section in the front and back is made with black or purple silk, whereas the bottom part is covered with black or dark brown animal skin such as otter skin. The lining is unquilted red cotton flannel. In the center of the hat, front and back, a red tassel (*bongsul*) is attached at the top and the *ayamdeurim*, the long, dark purple strips of cloth hanging down the back, are decorated with cicadas made of coral or amber. Ayam worn in spring and fall were identical in shape to those worn in winter but were made of *sa* (light silk) instead of *dan* (satin). This winter hat gradually disappeared in the late Joseon Dynasty when *jobawi* began to be worn.

Banggeon

방건 方巾

Flat square-shaped hat

Square-shaped headdress worn daily over the topknot by the scholar-officials of Joseon.

Banggeon is a flat square-shaped hat made by connecting four pieces of loosely woven horsehair fabric. It was worn over the *manggeon*, the headband worn by the scholar-official class (*sadaebu*) of the Joseon Dynasty. It is similar to the cap called *tanggeon*¹ in that it is made of horsehair fibers woven in the same way but is different in shape. The part of the hat in contact with the forehead was made with fabric of a

different weave than the fabric covering the hair.

Among the hats worn by scholar-officials of Joseon with their everyday clothes, banggeon were worn from a relatively early time. As Korean men have worn their hair short since modern times, the banggeon and *tanggeon* remain only in extant relics. Compared to other men's hats, this flat square-shaped hat was easy to make and store. Throughout the early Joseon period, the banggeon was produced in the shape of a square. But in the mid-Joseon period, the upper section became wider and the bottom part narrower. In addition, all sides of the hat were originally closed but in the late Joseon Dynasty the top was uncovered.

1. Cap worn over the topknot and under the hat.



Sabanggwon, men's daily indoor hat | Early 1990s | National Folk Museum of Korea



Yangban wearing banggeon | Portrait of Yi Gwangsa by Shin Hanpyeong | 18th century | National Museum of Korea



Village school teacher wearing banggeon | Detail of Seodang (Village School) by Kim Hongdo | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Museum of Korea

Bangnip

방립 方笠

Conical outdoor hat

Conical outdoor hat slightly depressed at the apex with a rim formed of four curved sections.

Bangnip is a type of *satgat*, or bamboo hat. The outside is made of thin, narrow bamboo strips while the inside is made with woven sedge formed into a cone. The hat's rim consists of four curved sections. It was a hat worn when going out and was more finely made than the *satgat*.

This brimless hat was worn by people in low government posts in the first late Joseon Dynasty. From the mid-Joseon period its use gradually declined, and was worn only by peddlers and mourners. In the Kaesong area in the



Bangnip | Height: 21.5 cm, Width: 51 cm | 1907 | National Folk Museum of Korea

northern part of the Korean Peninsula, women travelling a long way wore a bangnip made larger than the men's version to cover the face and part of the upper body.

Beonggeoji

병거지

Low-ranking military official's hat

Generic term for *jeollip* type hats worn during the Joseon Dynasty.

The names beonggeoji or *beongtegi* are loanwords from powerful local families in the northern region and it is not certain when they began to be used. Beonggeoji were made of tightly packed animal fur, which is the origin of the name *jeollip* (Kor. 전립, Chin. 氈笠), which means a hat made of fur. The *jeollip* was made by heating and wetting animal fur and pressing it into a felt-like fabric. A brim is attached to the felt to create a round hat.

Among the different types of *jeollip*, hats worn by high-ranking military officials were called *anolim beonggeoji*, while hats used by



Mourning headgear for going out



Merchant wearing *banggat* (bamboo hat) | National Folk Museum of Korea

low-ranking military officials, such as ordinary soldiers, were simply called beonggeoji. The hats worn by high-ranking military officials were made of high-quality animal fur and the brim was lined with cloud-patterned navy colored silk.

At the top of the hat was an ornament called *jeongja* that was gilded or made with different materials such as gold, silver, horsehair, and wood according to rank. Peacock tail feathers or *sangmo*² were attached to the *jeongja* and a

string of amber beads (Kor. 밀화영, Chin. 蜜花纓) was hung from the brim for a hat string. On the other hand, the beonggeoji worn by military servants working for the royal family or nobility, messengers, and servants of scholar-officials were made of pressed pig fur and hence had a coarse texture. The top of the hat was high and round and had no decoration, and a string was attached.

The hat worn by performers of *nongak* (farmers' music) was also called beonggeoji or *sangmo*. In *nongak*, long strips of paper or feathers other than peacock tail feathers were attached to the top of the hat. Beonggeoji were also worn by porters who followed the post wedding journey of the bride to the groom's home and by shamans, who also wore *jeonbok* (long sleeveless vest), when they conducted rites.

2. Thin red feather made into the form of ears of grain or tassels. *Sangmo* was also expressed as *sakmo* (槩毛). (*Dictionary of Korean Costume Culture*)



Beonggeoji | Height: 13.5 cm, Diameter: 50 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea



Beonggeoji | Height: 7 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Beonggeoji, Low-ranking military official's hat | Detail of *Pyeongsaengdo* (Life Course Painting) | National Folk Museum of Korea

Bokdu

복두 模頭

Chinese style official's hat

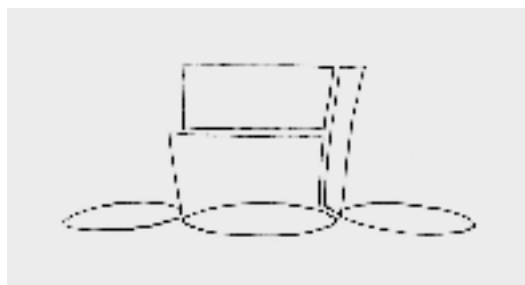
An official's hat that originated in China and was worn in Korea from the Unified Silla period to the late Joseon Dynasty.

Bokdu was an official's hat whose significance and shape changed over time.

The appearance of bokdu can be confirmed through an extant item preserved in the National Folk Museum of Korea. This hat measures 19.5 cm in height and 44 cm in width and is composed of the body of the hat, low



Bokdu, Chinese style official's hat | Height: 19.5 cm, Width: 44 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Bokdu | Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies



Portrait of Kang Mincheom | 18th century | Jinju Kang Clan Baekgakgong Lineage Association

in front and high at the back, and two wings, or flaps, one on either side. The hat was made by covering a paper frame with fabric. Loops are attached to both sides of the body part capping the head where the *eosahwa* (flowers granted by the king) were inserted. Strings are attached on the upper part at both sides and at the bottom part of the hat at the back, tied in

several strands. Images of the bokdu decorated with *eosahwa* can be found in Joseon genre paintings. The genre paintings of Gisan in the collection of the Musée National des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet of France feature a man who came first place in the state exams (*gwageo*) with musicians, wearing bokdu adorned with paper flowers called *eosahwa* and a ceremonial robe called *aengsam*.

Bokdu is similar in shape to the cap called *samo*. Different types include *jeongak bokdu*, *jeolgak bokdu*, *gyogak bokdu*, and *chaehwa bokdu*,³ categorized according to the shape of the *gak* (side wings) and whether there are decorative features. Different bokdu were worn according to time and purpose. In addition, the bokdu decorated with *eosahwa*, worn by the person coming first in the state civil service exams, does not have a rise but a flat top instead.

3. "Regarding the types of hats, *bokdu* with both wings parallel was called *jeongak bokdu*; the one with strands hanging downward was called *jeolgak bokdu*, and there was *chaehwa bokdu*... Hats worn by students preparing for state examinations were called *gyogak bokdu*." (Dictionary of Korean Costume Culture)

Bokgeon

복건 幅巾

Men's hood

Hood made of black silk.

Bokgeon is a men's hood made of one width of cloth, and hence the Chinese characters used in the name (幅巾) literally mean a "width of cloth." It was mostly made of black fabric but at times dark blue cloth as well. This men's hood



Bokgeon | Length: 52 cm, Head circumference: 43 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea



Portrait of Song Siyeol | Joseon | National Museum of Korea

is made by folding a strip of black silk cloth in half, forming a rectangle and making inverted pleats in the middle of the rectangle. The back of the hood is rounded and straps are hung from either side from the part near the ears. When the hat is worn, the straps are tied at the back of the head and the long, wide strands hang down the back.

The bokgeon was known as the hat of Confucian scholars. Until the late Joseon Dynasty, scholar-officials and students of Confucianism wore this black hood along with *simui* (Confucian scholar's robe) or *hakchangui* (everyday robe worn by royalty and scholars). A 17th-century *simui* and bokgeon used for shrouding have been discovered.⁴ *Simui* and bokgeon were also worn together at coming-of-age ceremonies. From the late Joseon Dynasty, the bokgeon was the headdress most commonly worn by young boys and even today baby boys still wear the bokgeon on their first birthday.

4. In the tombs of Kim Hwak (1572-1633) and Yi Ikjeong (1699-1782) were discovered *simui*, *bokgeon*, *daedae*, and *jodae*, which are preserved at Gyeonggi Provincial Museum and Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

Bolkki

볼끼

Detachable flaps for winter hat

Protective flaps wrapped around the cheeks and the chin to be tied at the top of the head for warmth.

Bolkki were worn to keep out the cold during winter by covering the cheeks and the chin. This simple headpiece was made of padded cotton or silk lined with fur, the most common colors being navy or purple. Extant examples include an integrated type of bolkki which was made of a single piece of cloth, and detachable bolkki made of two short pieces of fabric sewn together, one for the right side and the other for the left side. The detachable bolkki were made with two pieces of cloth attached to the left and



Woman and baby wearing *bolkki* in health promotion poster by Elizabeth Keith | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea



Bolkki | Length: 20 cm | Late 19th century | Dankook University
Seokjuseon Memorial Museum

the right sides of *nambawi*, which is classified as a kind of *nanmo*, a hat worn inside the official's hat *samo* for warmth. Strings are attached at the end of the bolkki and tied at the top of the head. Bolkki were sometimes worn without the *nanmo*. However, the elderly mostly wore *nambawi*⁵ or *jobawi*⁶ over the bolkki.

Although bolkki have a long history, they were first mentioned in historical documents from the mid-15th century in the early Joseon Dynasty.

According to historical records, materials used to make bolkki during the Joseon period differed depending on social status. In addition to records on the 1627 wedding ceremony for Crown Prince Sohyeon, son of King Injo, *Sukjong ingyeong wanghu garyedogam uigwe* (*State Records of the Wedding Ceremony of King Sukjong and Queen Ingyeong*) from the fourth month of 1671 says that five *ja* (equivalent of 30.3 cm) of white silk was prepared to make bolkki for the *sanggung* (high ranking court ladies), *aji* (nannies), maids, and *gibaengnaein*, respectively. The white bolkki worn by the court ladies were sometimes omitted; it seems that royal women wore violet-red bolkki, while *sanggung* and court ladies of lower rank wore white bolkki. That the tradition of wearing bolkki continued is evidenced by photos from 1918 in the collec-

tion of Seoul National University Museum that show women who look like court ladies wearing *jobawi* over white bolkki.

5. *Nambawi* were winter hats worn by men and women of Joseon for warmth. The top of the hat is open and it has flaps to cover the ears and head. The back of the hat is long and drapes down. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)
6. A women's winter cap worn when going out with ear flaps to cover the cheeks. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

Chipogwan

치포관 緇布冠
Black hemp hat

Hat made of black hemp cloth.

Since the word *chi* (緇) means black and the word *po* (布) means hemp cloth, chipogwan refers to a *gwan* (hat) made of black hemp cloth. However, as a similar hat made of many layers of paper or black silk was worn in the Chinese Song Dynasty it was also known as *chigwan*.

The chipogwan was first worn during the reigns of King Yao and King Shun in ancient China, through the Joseon Dynasty in Korea and survived into modern times. Among the countless number of costume items, the chipogwan has the longest history. "Four Coming-of-Age Rites" in the *Book of Rites* (*Uirye*) contains a detailed account of the shape of the hat and the various occasions when it is to be worn; a modified version of the chipogwan is introduced in the *Family Rites of Zhu Xi* published in the Song Dynasty.

The chipogwan, a kind of cap covering the topknot, is the traditional hat with the longest history. In ancient times, men pulled their hair up and tied it into a knot then covered the hair

with a cloth. This form of headdress gradually evolved into a hat with a solid frame. In addition, *gulgeon*, the mourner's hat, was worn as a reminder of the chipogwan, the first hat worn in human history. During its long history, the chipogwan contributed to the emergence of numerous hats of diverse forms, including the *tongcheongwan*, *wonyugwan*, *yanggwan*, *jinhyeongwan*, *chungjeongwan*, *waryonggwan* (*jegalgeon*), and *jangpogeon*. In Joseon, as suggested by Heo Jeon, a civil official, the chipogwan changed from a cap used to cover the topknot to a hat proper.



Portrait of Heo Jeon | Latter half 19th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum

Chorip

초립 草笠

Bamboo hat

Hat woven of fine grass stalks or bamboo strips with clearly distinguished crown and brim (*pyeongnyangja*).⁷

Chorip (Kor. 초립, Chin. 草笠, lit. grass hat) were hats composed of a crown and brim whose name comes from the materials used to make the hat. The chorip appeared during the stage when the traditional hat called *gat* was in transition from the *paeraengi* to the *heungnip*. The *paeraengi* was slightly raised at the top while the chorip was flat and took a cylindrical shape that grew wider toward the bottom. In addition, the brim (*yangtae*) of the chorip was narrower and slightly raised compared to that of the *heungnip*.

A headdress placed under the *neoul*, a veiled hat worn by all women living inside the palace during the Joseon period, was also called chorip, though written with different Chinese characters “綃笠,” meaning “silk hat.” In *Sangbang jeonrye*, a book on the rules and regulations employed by Sanguiwon (Bureau of Royal Attire) the measurements of chorip were always placed next to those of the *neoul*, indicating that the chorip was worn under the *neoul*. In addition, the colors of the hats differed according to rank: the queen wore a purple chorip with lined purple silk *neoul*; the crown prince's wife wore a blue chorip with lined purple silk *neoul*; and the king's concubine *sugui* of the junior second rank, court ladies of the *sanggung* rank and those lower than *sanggung* wore blue chorip and unlined black silk *neoul*. Comparing the contents of *uigwe*, state records of court events produced during the Joseon pe-



Chorip, woven hat | Height: 12 cm, Diameter: 24.5 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea



Governor wearing chorip | From a painting by Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation

riod, indicates changes over time: the queen and the crown prince's wife wore chorip identical in shape and color and decorated with pearls in the first late Joseon Dynasty, but in the later half the chorip of the crown prince's wife changed from purple to blue.

The chorip appeared during the stage when the traditional hat called *gat* was in transition from the *paeraengi* to the *heungnip*. It was similar to the *paeraengi* in shape but has a more clearly distinguished brim and crown. Chorip were widely worn by the people of Joseon but materials of different texture were used depending on social standing. Boys who had completed their coming-of-age ceremony but were too young to wear *heungnip* wore chorip instead.

They were called *choripdong*, with *dong* meaning “young boy.”

7. A type of gat with clearly distinguished brim and crown. *Pyeongnyangja* is also called *pyeryangnip* or *paeryangja* in pure Korean. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

Chungjeonggwan

충정관 冲正冠

Upper class men's hat

Daily headdress worn by men of the upper class of the Joseon Dynasty.

The chungjeonggwan looked similar to *yanggwan*, but was lower in the formal hierarchy as it was worn by the crown prince before his coming-of-age ceremony or by men of the upper classes.

Use of the chungjeonggwan is recorded in *Joseon wangjo sillok (Annals of the Joseon Dynasty)* from 1574 (7th year of the reign of King Seonjo), which says that in China when going out civil officials wear chungjeonggwan; military officials wear brimmed woolen hats; Confucian scholars wear *yugeon*; civil servants of provincial governments wear *igeon*; and ordinary people all wear hats, with people from all walks of life wearing *ipja* and wasting a lot of money on it. Taking such historic records into account, the chungjeonggwan was a formal hat for civil officials in China, but seems to have been rarely used in Korea during the same period.

The shape of chungjeonggwan can be imagined through a diagram in *Samjaedohoe (Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms)*. The chungcheonggwan was similar to the *yanggwan* in design, but did not have a wooden hairpin

called *mokjam* stuck through it and was characterized by two decorative ornaments at the back. A record from the Joseon period states that the chungjeonggwan began to be used as an official hat after it was received as a gift from an envoy from the Ming Dynasty, and that before the mid-Joseon period it was worn by the crown prince until he had his coming-of-age ceremony. From the mid-Joseon, when a variety of official hats were imported from China, the chungjeonggwan was worn as an everyday hat by men of the ruling class. It was introduced from China and established in Korea as everyday headwear for men of royalty and the upper classes. However, no image has been found yet showing a Joseon man wearing the chungcheonggwan.



Funeral portrait of Kim Manjung | 18th century | Daejeon Municipal Museum

Dongpagwan

동파관 東坡冠

Scholar-official's everyday indoor hat

Everyday headgear worn by Joseon scholar-officials (*sadaebu*).

One of the everyday hats worn by members of the scholar-official class, the dongpagwan consists of an inner cap with an outer hat worn over it.

In the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* (*Joseon wangjo sillok*) a record for the 12th year of the reign of King Myeongjong (1557) says the dongpagwan was worn by the famed Song



Dongpagwan, Scholar-official's hat in Portrait of Sim Deukgyeong by Yun Duseo | 1710 | National Museum of Korea

Dynasty calligrapher Su Shi (Su Dongpo), which tells us that it was not a ceremonial hat. Also, according to the description of the attire worn by Chinese envoys in *Record of a Journey to Beijing in the Muo Year* (*Muo yeonhaengnok*), written in 1798 (22nd year of the reign of King Jeongjo), when the scholar-officials were resting at home they wore hats made of horsehair called *chonggwan*, one of which was the dongpagwan.

The dongpagwan was thus an everyday hat, consisting of inner hat and outer hat, worn by scholar-officials. Made of woven horsehair it took different forms over time. Around the mid-17th century the Korean dongpagwan was similar to its Chinese counterpart but changed as both the inner and outer parts of the hat gradually grew higher and wider. With such change, the dongpagwan developed into the *jeongjagwan*, the everyday hat more commonly worn by scholar-officials in the late Joseon Dynasty. The dongpagwan was worn with everyday clothes, including coats and robes such as *dopo*, *changui*, *simui*, *jingnyeong* (robe with straight collar), or *cheollik* (robe with pleated skirt).

Galmo

갈모

Cone-shaped hat

Cone-shaped headgear worn over *gat*, a traditional Korean hat, for protection against the sun or rain.

Although it is unclear when galmo began to be used, the use of *gat* dates back to the early Joseon period, and based on records it can be



Galmo and galmotae, Hat worn over gat and frame |
Hat Length: 38 cm | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Folk Museum of Korea

assumed that galmo were already being worn by the mid-Joseon period.

The galmo was called by various names: it was originally called *gatmoja* (lit. *gat* hat) because it was worn over *gat*; *umo* (lit. rain hat) because it was worn on a rainy day; and *yumo* (lit. oil hat) because it was made of oiled paper. Galmo has a conical shape when it is unfolded and becomes an expandable hand-fan when folded. It was made by gluing thin bamboo ribs to oiled paper called *galmoji* (*hwanji*) or traditional paper called *hanji* and attaching a cockscomb-like handle to the top of the hat. When it rained, the galmo was spread like an umbrella and worn over a *gat* and the strings attached at either side were tied under the chin. An artifact housed in the Onyang Folk Museum has expensive strings like those usually attached to *gat*. When the galmo was worn without a hat underneath, a frame was first placed on top of the head. Extant examples of the frame were made of five bamboo ribs from bamboo strips bent at 90 degrees, which were then gathered together at the top. A round fabric rim called *misari* was attached inside the frame. So when it was spread, it looked like a galmo unfolded.

Based on extant artifacts, galmo can be largely categorized into two types: One was made by

Mailman wearing *galmo* | Youngwol Book Museum

folding the material in a single direction like a fan; the other was made with pleats facing each other, like a skirt with inverted pleats. The paper used to make *galmo* was oiled before or after the hat was made. Each of the thin bamboo ribs was glued between the folds of the paper. Later a sheet of paper was glued over the bamboo ribs to hide them. Fresh perilla oil was used to obtain the desired color and ensure the paper was not sticky. It is also the type of oil that permeates paper most thoroughly. This agrees with a 1537 record that says that perilla oil should be used to make *galmo*.

Originally the *galmo* was worn to protect the *gat* from rain. However, photos and illustrations show that it was worn all year round, regardless of season. It was worn in summer for protection against the blazing sun and in winter for protection against the snow.

Old man wearing *galmo* | National Folk Museum of Korea

Gamtu

갓투

Brimless hat

Traditional fabric or leather hat with no brim.

The *gamtu* is loosely categorized as a traditional official's hat and the word is currently used colloquially to signify a public office or position.

The *gamtu* has no brim and is made to fit the shape of the head. It is made of silk fabrics, woolen fabrics, leather, or horsehair. On Jeju Island, *gamtu* were made using animal hide, badger skin being considered the highest quality. The hats were worn while hunting in winter. *Gamtu* are divided into four types by shape: one made of six pieces sewn together and a



Gamtu (Brimless hat) |
From: *Muyedo botongji*
(Training manual on martial arts) |
Kyujanggak Institute for Korean
Studies



Gajuk gamtu (Leather hat) |
Length: 21.5 cm (front), 41.0 cm
(back), width: 41.0 cm | Modern
era | Jeju National University
Museum



Portrait of Choi Ikhyeon by Chae Yongsin | 1905 | National Museum
of Korea

straight strip along the hem; a seamless conical shape; a conical shape made by first forming a cylinder and sewing the four parts together at the top; a conical shape made by first forming a cylinder and gathering the four parts together at the top. In Joseon genre paintings depicting folk games such as *yut*, men are depicted wearing conical gamtu. This type of hat was worn not only in Korea but also in China. Though the name of the hat was written with different Chinese characters and there were slight differ-

ences in shape, in both countries the gamtu was a brimless hat fitted close to the head and made of fabric or felt. These days, the term gamtu is used figuratively to indicate public office but does not refer to a hat of any kind.

Garima

가리마

Hair parting

Flat women's headdress in the shape of a book box.

The garima is a women's headdress made by folding black or purple silk fabric into a rectangle, putting thick layers of paper in between, and flattening it into the shape of a book box.⁸

Through excavated examples it has been confirmed that the use of garima dates back to the early Joseon period. However, while there are written records from the latter late Joseon Dynasty referring to garima no examples from that time have been handed down. Instead, women wearing this headdress can be seen in illustrations that also indicate that the garima of later Joseon were bigger than those worn in the early period.

Garima worn in the early late Joseon Dynasty covered the head and forehead, whereas those from the later half covered the top of the head to the back of the neck, which means they grew larger over time. The way the headdress was worn also changed over time. In the early half of Joseon the garima was placed on top of the head and fixed in place by wrapping strands of hair around it; in the latter half, straps attached at the front to the left and right were



Cheonggeumsangnyeon (Listening to the Geomungo and Appreciating Lotus Flowers) by Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation

tied at the back of the head. Initially, garima were worn by royal women, women of noble birth, and *gisaeng* (professional female entertainers). However, after the 18th century they were only worn by women of the lower classes and from the late Joseon Dynasty gradually disappeared.

8. *Chaekgap*, a small case or box that can hold a book.

Gat

갓

Formal men's hat of the Joseon Dynasty

Major type of hat worn by men of the Joseon Dynasty when outside the home.

The Chinese-character word for gat is *ip* (笠). It was originally a practical hat roughly woven

out of plant materials and worn for protection against the sun or rain and wind. During the Joseon Dynasty it evolved into the black hat *heungnip* (Kor. 흑립, Chin. 黑笠, lit. black hat),⁹ the representative everyday hat worn by the *sadaebu*, or men of the scholar-official class. In the narrow sense, therefore, gat refers only to *heungnip* at the final stage of development of the category of hats called *ip*. *Ipja* is another name for *heungnip* that was used on formal occasions.

The earliest materials attesting to hats called *ip* are found in the Goguryeo tombs Gamsin-chong, which has a mural featuring archers on horseback and a deity sitting in a niche, and Anak Tomb No. 1, whose mural shows a hunter with his hand on his hat brim as he watches a hawk chase a smaller bird. The hat seen in the murals has a round crown and wide brim and is seemingly tied under the chin with straps. Also, records of the reign of King Wonseong of Silla in *Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms)*, mention *chaksorip*¹⁰ (Kor. 착소립, Chin. 着素笠, lit. attached white hat). *Goryeosa (History of Goryeo)*, Vol. 26 “Carts and Clothing” from the ninth month of 1367 (16th year of the reign of King Gongmin), says, “All government officials attended the morning meeting wearing a *gat*” and mentions various other official's hats such as *heukchobangnip* and *baekbangnip*. This shows that towards the end of the Goryeo Dynasty various kinds of hats were imbued with the social function of indicating the wearer's class or rank. Going into the Joseon Dynasty, the *heungnip* was established as the representative Korean hat that we call gat today.

The word *heungnip* first appeared in written records when the black hat was instituted as the official's hat with rank marked by an ornament on the top of the crown. It is presumed that

Heungnip
Height: 20.5 cm, Diameter: 72.3 cm
Early 19th century



Heungnip
Height: 10.7 cm, Diameter: 40.3 cm
Late 19th century



Baengnip
Height: 15 cm, Diameter: 14 cm
1955



Gatjip, case for traditional gat
Height: 14 cm, Diameter (bottom): 41.3 cm
Joseon



Ibyeong (gatkkeun, Gat strings) |
Joseon



Ipsik (hosu)
Length: 38 cm
Joseon





Yangban wearing gat | Detail from *Yeongwangjeong yeonhui* (Banquet at Yeongwangjeong Pavilion) | attributed to Kim Hongdo | 18th century | National Museum of Korea



at the time the *heungnip* consisted of a clearly distinguished crown (*dae*) and flat brim (*yang-tae*), belonging to the category of hats known as *pyeongnangja*.¹¹ In terms of material or shape it is not known which features the Goryeo *heungnip* shared with its Joseon counterpart. But the ornament at the top of the crown is seen to be an element that originated in *ballip* (Kor. 발립, Chin. 鉞笠, lit. hat with round ornament) worn by officials of the Yuan Dynasty,¹² which can be seen in some portraits of late Goryeo figures. Hence, adoption of the *ballip* is presumably related to the social function imbued in hats during the Goryeo period. This is an important point that presages the emergence of *heungnip* as an important hat of the scholar-official class through the socialization of Joseon's systems.

In *Taejong sillok* (*Annals of King Taejong*), a record from the 12th month of 1417 (17th year of the reign of King Taejong) says, "Some officials come to the palace wearing *ip* even on days when it is not snowing or raining, which is not comfortable." During the reign of King Taejong it seems that officials went to work at the palace wearing *ip*, already commonly worn as a hat for rainy and snowy days. It is most likely the hat mentioned was *heungnip*, which was coated with black lacquer.

One of the articles on ritual found in *Gyeongguk daejeon*¹³ (*Great Code of State Administration*) states that "Officials of the first to third rank wear *gwanja*¹⁴ [headband buttons] and *ibyeong* [gat strings] made of gold or jade, and hat ornaments made of silver, while princes wear hat ornaments made of gold... The crown-top ornaments worn by officials of Saheonbu [Office of the Inspector General] and Saganwon [Office of Censors], governors and local military commanders are made of jade, and those worn by inspectors are made of crystal."

Up until the reign of King Seongjong of Joseon there would have been little change in the system of crown-top ornaments for *heungnip* that was established in the late Goryeo period.

Gyeongguk daejeon also records various other types of *ip* such as *mamirip* (Kor. 마미립, Chin. 馬尾笠, lit. horsehair tail hat), *bujungnip* (Kor. 부죽립, Chin. 付竹笠, lit. hat using bamboo), *jukjingnip* (Kor. 죽직립, Chin. 竹織笠, lit. hat made of bamboo), and *seunggyeollip* (Kor. 승결립, Chin. 繩結笠, lit. hat made of woven hemp), while *Daejeon songnok* (*Supplement of the Great Code*)¹⁵ mentions *jongnip* (Kor. 종립, Chin. 鬃笠, lit. hat made of horse mane hair) and *Daejeon husok songnok* (*Later Supplement of the Great Code*)¹⁶ mentions *jungnip*, *sungnip*, and *irarip* (Kor. 이라립, Chin. 裏羅笠, lit. hat with silk inside), which indicates diversification in materials and methods of production. After the King Seongjong era, the Joseon hat system was honed to its final form.

It was during the reign of King Seongjong that discussion began on making rules regarding the shape of the gat. At the time the gat had a round crown and wide brim, a form that can be seen in the portrait of the early Joseon scholar Kim Siseup. Afterwards, the top of the crown became flatter and the crown itself grew cylindrical and narrower at the top than at the bottom. Though discussion continued on changes in the height of the hat and the width at the top of the crown, the gat was the major hat worn by men until the end of the Joseon Dynasty. This reflects the great importance of the gat among Joseon hats. But with the enlightenment movement in the late Joseon Dynasty and the Westernization of dress in general the gat gradually disappeared.

According to form, *ip* can be divided into two types: the *bangnip* type, which has no brim,

such as *satgat* and *banggat*, and the *pyeongnangja* type, which has a clearly distinguished crown and brim, such as the *pyeongnanja* (*paeraengi*), *chorip*, and *heungnip*. Also, hats identical in form to the *heungnip* but different in color were the red *jurip*, and white *baengnip*. Though rooted in a different hat system, the military hat *jeollip*¹⁷ started to be worn around late Goryeo-early Joseon and remained an important hat throughout the Joseon period. In the broad sense, therefore, *gat* refers to all hats in the *ip* category, with or without a brim. In the narrow sense it refers specifically to *heungnip*, which evolved into the major hat of Joseon after passing through the *paeraengi* and *chorip* stage. Therefore, only the *heungnip* of the Joseon Dynasty was called *gat*, or sometimes *ipja*.

The *gat* is an exceptional handicraft item made with strips of bamboo as fine as hair woven together to create a semi-transparent hat. The crown sits neatly over the head while the *pungjam*,¹⁸ an ornament attached at the top center of the headband called *manggeon*, was pushed inside the crown to prevent the *gat* from moving. The hat was tied under the chin with black silk straps. *Gat* strings hanging down to the chest were also attached for added style. They were made of *milhwa* and *hobak*, which are types of amber, or tortoiseshell. The crown of the hat, narrow at the top and wider at the bottom and lacquered for strength, is attached to the subtly downward curving brim, creating a sense of tension and ease at the same time. The stylishly semi-transparent black *gat* worn with white clothing symbolizes the eroticism and moderation of Joseon men's attire and is one of the greatest aesthetic objects of the Joseon Dynasty.

The black *gat*, or *heungnip*, is undoubtedly an impractical and non-functional hat. But it



Ballip in Funeral Portrait of Yi Sungin | Seongju Lee Clan Association

was a well-loved item that was considered precious and treated with great care, as implicated in the addition of long hanging *gat* strings with ornaments attached, the wearing of a rain hat called *galmo* on top of it in bad weather, and its storage in a finely crafted case made of heavy wood or rawhide. Moreover, any place where the *gat* was hung represented the highest or best place, reflecting great respect for the hat. Such respect and care were rooted in the rules governing costume at the time, which were based on respect for all formal attire.

9. Black hat with brim that is generally known as *gat*.
10. This expression means "wearing a white bamboo hat."
11. Hat with a flat brim.
12. Chinese dynasty that existed in the 13th century.
13. Basic code of law of the Joseon Dynasty, which was completed in the 15th century.
14. Small ornamental rings attached on the left and right sides of the headband (*manggeon*) worn under the *gat*.

15. Code of law compiled by collecting current laws and ordinances from the publication of *Gyeongguk daejeon* to 1491.
16. Code of law compiled by collecting current laws and ordinances over some 50 years from the publication of *Daejeon surok* to 1542.
17. *Paeraengi* type hat worn by Joseon military officials as part of their military uniform.
18. The *manggeon* headband has *pungjam* in the center and *gwanja* at either side.

Gongjeongchaek

공정책 空頂幘

Crown prince's ceremonial hat

Hat worn during the Joseon Dynasty by the crown prince or the son of the crown prince on several occasions, including the coming-of-age ceremony, the rite held whenever a book had been mastered, ceremony to mark entrance to the national Confucian academy, and funeral rites.

The term *gongjeongchaek* (Kor. 공정책, Chin. 空頂幘, lit. hat covering the crown of the head) appeared for the first time in records of the 15th reign year of King Jungjong (1521) in *Jo-seon wangjo sillok* (*Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*). It was described as a headdress that the crown prince received as a gift from a government official upon his return from the capital of the Chinese Ming Dynasty (today's Beijing). According to this record, this headdress was known as *soyogeon* (Kor. 소요건 Chin. 逍遙巾 lit. hood worn when taking a walk) because it was worn by the crown prince when he went out for a stroll.

The origins of the *gongjeongchaek* can be traced to the *soyogeon* worn by Chinese children. A formal hat without a board was worn by the



Gongjeongchaek | From *Gukjosokoryeui* (Illustrated Supplement to the Five Rites of State) | Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies



King Yeongchin wearing gongjeongchaek | National Palace Museum of Korea

crown prince or his son during formal rites, before the crown prince began to wear the royal crown (*pyeongcheongwan*)¹⁹.

Gongjeongchaek is one of the headdresses worn by the crown prince and his son on special events, placed on the head after putting the hair up in two knots, one on either side. The type of clothing worn at rites differs according to the type of rite. During the coronation ceremony, the crown prince or the first son of the crown prince wore *chiljangbok*, or a robe decorated with seven symbols, and *gollyongpo* for the libation ceremony (wine offering) at ancestral rites, the entrance ceremony to Seonggyungwan (national Confucian academy), and the formal meeting with his teachers. At his coming-of-age ceremony held in 1819 (19th year of the reign of King Sunjo), Crown Prince Hyomyeong wore *gongjeongchaek* with his royal robe.

According to records, the *gongjeongchaek* was made of woolen cloth or satin and was covered with white cloth for funeral rites. A red strap was attached to either side of the hat and two jade rods were used as hairpins (*binyeo*) to

fix the hat in place. The gongjeongchaek originating from *soyogeon* in China existed until late Joseon, as evidenced by a record stating that it was worn by a son of King Gojong.

19. Another name for *myeollyugwan*, the royal crown.
(*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

Gulle

굴레

Children's winter hat

Children's headdress worn for protection against the cold and for ornamental purposes.

Gulle were worn by children of upper-class families aged one to five in the late Joseon Dynasty. They are divided into spring and autumn hats and winter hats based on materials and composition. Gulle were decorated with diverse designs such as peonies, lotus blossoms, reishi mushrooms, mountains, waves, tigers, bats, and butterflies. Chinese characters signifying longevity (壽), fortune (福), joy (囍), longevity, health, happiness and peace (壽福康寧), longevity and happiness (福海壽山), a long and healthy life (萬壽無疆), wealth and honor (富貴), and many sons were embroidered on the hat or stamped in gold leaf. Such designs and characters are all auspicious motifs that express wishes for wealth and honor and a healthy and long life for the child.

The gulle was also called *dolmo* because it was very often worn by babies on their first birthday (*dol*). It is the most colorful headgear for children as it was made of silk of five colors and decorated with various ornaments in the

hope that the child would grow healthy and happy. The gulle with three straps, worn from spring to fall, was commonly worn in Seoul, which is why it was called Seoul gulle, while the gulle with nine straps was used for winter and was commonly worn in the Kaesong region, which is why it was called Kaesong gulle. The Seoul gulle was mostly worn for ornamental purposes rather than for warmth.



Gulle | Height: 18 cm, Length: 43 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Gulle | Two Korean Children | Print by Elizabeth Keith | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea



Hogeon, Boy's tiger hood | Length: 50 cm, Diameter: 19 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Boy's wearing hogeon, tiger hood | Japanese colonial period

Hogeon

호건 虎巾

Boy's hood

Boy's hood decorated to present the image of a tiger.

The hogeon (Kor. 호건, Chin. 虎巾, lit. tiger hood) was worn by boys of families of the nobility from the late Joseon Dynasty and enlightenment period. Though similar to the adult hood called *bokgeon* it was decorated to resemble the face of a tiger. On major holidays such as Seollal (New Year's Day) and Chuseok or the baby's first birthday, boys were dressed in a coat such as *durumagi* and *jeonbok* (vest) or a child's coat called *sagyusam*, with a hogeon hood on the head. Such attire was worn until the boy was about five or six years old.

Boys were dressed in this so-called tiger hood to express the parents' wishes for the child to have the courage and wisdom of the tiger. There were a lot of tigers in Korea during the Joseon period and this gave rise to many tiger-related stories and customs, and consequently the tiger took on many symbolic meanings. The tiger, the object of both reverence and fear, is the third of the twelve zodiacal animals and symbolizes the first month of the year. Pictures of the tiger were pasted on the walls or front gate of houses on the first day of the year to chase away evil spirits. If we look at records written by a foreigner in the late Korean Empire period, Koreans at the time considered a dream where a tiger appeared to be a lucky dream. They believed that having a tiger dream meant they would have a son and that the son would grow up to be a military official, or that

the *ho* character would change from “虎” meaning “tiger” to “好” meaning “good” so that the boy’s life would be filled with good fortune.

Because people believed that the tiger had the power to block evil they made tiger-related items and placed them around the home. Each home had their own way of giving expression to the tiger. Some had tigers painted on talismans (*bujeok*) or women would wear a pendant (*norigae*) with a tiger-claw ornament. Amber stones were thought to represent a tiger’s soul and were hence used on buttons, accessories and other fixtures on clothing. In addition, tiger designs were painted on scholar’s implements such as brush cases, water droppers, and inkstones, as well as rice bowls and even paddles used to beat laundry. As children were exposed to all sorts of diseases and dangers, parents had them carry a tiger-claw pendant as a kind of talisman or dressed them in hats such as *hogeon* or *gulle* embroidered with tiger designs to express their wishes that the child live a long and healthy life.

The *hogeon* was similar in form to the adult hood called *bokgeon* and the part that covers the head was decorated to resemble a tiger. It was worn by boys from the age of one to five or six. It was embroidered with tiger designs embodying wishes for the boy to be as courageous and wise as the tiger or decorated with auspicious gold leaf designs. The way the tiger was expressed differed from one home to the next. The *hogeon* continued to be worn in the late Joseon Dynasty in some ruling class families and today boys wear it on their first birthday.

Hwagwan

화관 花冠

Women’s ceremonial coronet

A coronet beautifully decorated with flowers and jewels worn by women of the Joseon Dynasty for ceremonial or ornamental purposes.

The name *hwagwan* (Kor. 화관, Chin. 花冠 or 華冠, lit. flower hat) means a hat decorated with flowers. It is believed to be rooted in the practice of inserting flower-shaped ornaments in hats to express the basic human instinct to seek beauty. Hats similar in form to the *hwagwan*, decorated with flowers, have been discovered in China and Eastern Europe. In China’s Song Dynasty it was a popular custom with men and women to wear flowers in their hats and various kinds of *hwagwan*.



Hwagwan (coronet) | Height: 14 cm, Width: 6 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Hwagwan (coronet) | Height: 9 cm, Length: 14 cm, Breadth: 12 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Korean Bride | Print by Elizabeth Keith | 1938 | National Folk Museum of Korea

wan were worn. As fresh flowers quickly wilted artificial flowers were made with paper and silk and all sorts of precious stones, or flower-shaped ornaments were used to decorate hats.

Hwagwan were also decorated with flowers, flower-shaped ornaments or all sorts of jewels. In *Oju yeonmun jangjeon sanggo* (Kor. 오주연문장전산고, Chin. 五洲衍文長箋散稿, Eng. Random Expatiations of Oju), the chapter on Korean women's hair ornaments says the hwagwan was made with seven jewels. The hwagwan worn as part of the wedding attire was made of stiff cardboard covered with black silk to form the body of the hat. This was decorated with jewels such as pearls, coral, and amber and colored tassels. In performances of court dance the hwagwan worn by young child dancers or female performers were varied in the shape of the crown and artificial flowers used, some being similar to the type worn in weddings.

When women were banned from wearing big wigs called *gache* the wedding hwagwan spread as an alternative headpiece. The court dance hwagwan had been used from the first half of Joseon as hair ornamentation by women or child performers. In traditional society the hwagwan was an important item for women's ceremonial attire.

Hwiyang

휘양

Men's winter hat

Men's winter hat that covered the shoulders which was worn during the Joseon Dynasty for protection against the cold.

The hwiyang (Kor. 휘양, Chin. 揮揚 [揮項]) is a men's winter hat that originated in China. It was mostly worn in winter by elderly men but was also worn with military uniform. According to rank and the financial means of the wearer, the hat was made of leather, cotton cloth or cotton wool. As a hat worn by men to block cold winter winds, it was made with a focus on function.

Jeom

이엄 耳掩

Winter hat

Winter hat worn during the Joseon Dynasty.

The ieom (Kor. 이엄, Chin. 耳掩, lit. ear cover) was a winter hat worn from the early Joseon period that was made of different materials according to rank. Civil and military officials were allowed to wear the ieom under their official hat (*samo*) from early in the tenth month to the end of the first month of the lunar year if permission was obtained from the government. According to *Gyeongguk daejeon* (*Grand Code of State Administration*), officials of the senior third rank and above (*dangsanggwan*) had to wear the ieom made of silk (*dan*) with pigskin lining. Meanwhile, officials of junior third rank to ninth rank (*danghagwan*) had to wear ieom made of low quality silk (*cho*) with rat skin lining. Such regulations remained unchanged even in *Daejeon hoetong* (*Comprehensive Collection of the National Codes*). A record from the 25th day of the first month of 1440 (22nd year of the reign of King Sejong) in *Sejong sillok* (*Annals of King Sejong*), says that the ieom worn by people



ieom, winter hat | Length: 42 cm, Width: 43 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea

involved in manufacturing and commerce and people of the lowest class and slaves had to be made of fox fur, wildcat fur, and other assorted fur. As some of the ordinary people began to wear ieom made of rat skin or pigskin, however, the use of luxurious material to make ieom was banned. There is a list of luxurious articles banned that was submitted by the Ministry of Rites contained in *Seongjong sillok* (*Annals of King Seongjong*) dated to the 22nd day of the first month of 1472 (3rd year of the reign of King Seongjong), which says that ordinary men and women should be prohibited from wearing ieom made of pigskin or Chinese sable of high quality, but that women be allowed to wear ieom made of rat skin. In addition, a ban was issued on the use of ieom made of rat skin in the first month of 1499 (25th year of the reign of King Seongjong) as such winter hats gained popularity even among slaves and merchants. A record dated to the 18th day of the ninth month of 1553 (8th year of the reign of King Myeongjong) contained in *Myeongjong sillok* (*Annals of King Myeongjong*) stated that when lower officials and people from the upper class wore *ipja* (*gat*), their ieom should be made of rat skin or

Japanese sable, and that government officials of Gyujianggak, Hongmungwan, and Yeomungwan, sons of concubines, and low-ranking officials of local governments should wear ieom made of domestically-produced sable and red fox fur. In addition, people involved in manufacturing and commerce and those of the lowest class and slaves were allowed to wear ieom made of goat skin, dog skin, otter skin, wildcat skin, and rabbit skin. Although ieom were widely used as a winter hat by people from all walks of life in Joseon, they became a luxury item. It can be easily inferred from the bans regarding this winter hat made on several occasions that people did not observe regulations on the use of the right materials consistent with social status.

Extravagant practices regarding the ieom could be found not only in the material but also size. The record dated to the 25th day of the 10th month of 1514 (9th year of the reign of King Jungjong) contained in *Jungjong sillok* (*Annals of King Jungjong*) noted: "The ieom supplied by Sanguiwon [Bureau of Royal Attire] is very large in size and costs a lot of money. Nevertheless, many government officials are competing to wear larger and broader ieom than those supplied by the bureau. In the past, this winter hat only covered the ears, but today the ieom caps the head, which is very strange indeed." The record dated to the 1st day of the 11th month of 1574 (7th year of the reign of King Seonjo) in *Seonjo sujeong sillok* (*Revised Annals of King Seonjo*) states, "Our people prefer large and luxurious ieom. Even ordinary people use two *gu* of fabric to make ieom, while those worn by women take almost three *gu*. The so-called *daeieom* (grand ieom) needs almost five *gu* of fabric to make. In *Jeonggyojeongo* (*Laws and Precedents on Religion and Politics*), Volume 13 of *Yeollyeosisil gisul byeoljip* (*Supplement to the Narratives of Yeollyeosisil*),

there is a description as follows: “Since the size of the ieom is already unusually large and broad, four to five pieces of pigskin and 13 or 14 pieces of rat skin are needed to make these extraordinarily large and wide hats.”

Putting these records together, it seems ieom gradually became larger than the original hat, which could only cover the ears in its early stage, to one that could completely cover the head and shoulders. Documents published from the 18th century contain a variety of names referring to winter hats such as ieom, *hwihang*, and *pungcha*. This suggests that the ieom was gradually diversified in shape and name. As identified in photos taken in the late Joseon Dynasty, the emperor and his officials wore the ieom under their official hats.

Ieom were worn by civil and military officials of Joseon under hats such as *jogwan*, *jegwan*, and *samo*, and bestowed as royal gifts. In addition, they were worn under *gat* (formal hat) in everyday life. The ieom was an important gift bestowed by the king to envoys and meritorious officials.



Ikseongwan(royal hat), worn by King Yeongchin | Height: 22 cm, Width: 20.5 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Portrait of King Taejo | 1872 | Royal Portrait Museum

Ikseongwan

익선관 翼善冠

Royal hat worn by kings
and princes with *gollyongpo* robe

Official hat worn by the king, the crown prince, and the son of the crown prince when dressed in *gollyongpo*, the everyday royal robe.

Ikseongwan (Kor. 익선관, Chin. 翼善冠) is the hat that was worn by the king, the crown prince, and the crown prince's son when dressed in



Portrait of King Yeongjo | 1900 | National Palace Museum of Korea

gollyongpo, the everyday royal robe, and has no difference in shape according to rank. The ikseongwan has a two-tiered section that caps the head and a pair of “wings,” or flaps, called *gak*, their tips pointing upward, attached at the back. An illustration of the ikseongwan in *Gukjo or-yeyui boseorye* (Kor. 국조오례의보서례, Chin. 國朝續五禮儀補序例, Eng. Illustrated Supplement to the Five Rites of State: Follow-up and Auxiliary Edition) shows the hat covered with coarse silk (*mora*) with two large wings attached to the back and two small wings attached on top of the large wings, which all point upward. The ikseongwan is composed of two connected sections: the lower section that covers the forehead to the top of the head and the upper section that covers the top of the head and the topknot. However, the ikseongwan worn by King Gojong is covered with purple silk in the section capping the head and two wings. In addition, the middle of the hat where the upper section and the bottom section join is decorated with vertical and horizontal lines made of twisted dark purple silk threads. The hat is lower in height than that worn by King Yeongjo and the edges of the wings are bordered with stiff material, which gives them a clear outline. The two large wings and small wings are painted black and stuck in a rectangular base attached at the back of the hat. King Gojong’s ikseongwan had a solid, finely woven interior frame made of split bamboo and horsehair.²⁰

The lines at the bottom of the body of the hat were painted black and have holes measuring 1 cm in diameter at regular intervals, which were then covered with a red-purple silk fabric. These holes were designed to circulate air and make the hat more comfortable to wear. Today the appearance of the ikseongwan can be confirmed in the portraits of kings Taejo, Yeongjo,

Gojong, and Sunjo. An extant example is the ikseongwan presumably worn by King Gojong. White ikseongwan were worn during a period of mourning.

The term *ikseon* refers to the small flaps that resemble cicada wings. They were made by attaching wings 10 cm high to the back of the hat and then larger wings 15 cm high onto the small ones. The center of the body is decorated with two lines of twisted silk threads. The back of the hat is decorated on the inside with braided strings made of silk threads with tortoiseshell discs about 2 cm in diameter hanging from them. Ikseongwan were made of pig skin. Pig skins were tribute goods supplied by Ganggyebu district of Pyeongan-do Province every year. In 1562 (17th year of the reign of King Myeongjong) the government increased the amount of skins to be provided, inflicting a great burden on the ordinary people.

The ikseongwan seems to have been freely worn, unlike *myeonbok*, which was the official ceremonial attire. In addition, although the height of the hat and the shape of the wings changed over time, the basic frame remained almost unchanged. The ikseongwan worn by King Taejo in his royal portrait has a round crown, smaller wings, and shows little difference in the height between the lower section and the upper section. On the other hand, the ikseongwan worn by King Yeongjo has a higher crown and wider wings attached to the back of the hat. The ikseongwan worn by King Yeongchin, currently preserved at the National Palace Museum of Korea, has a body made of lacquered leather and horsehair covered with many layers of dark navy silk. There were some differences in color used, including black, purple, and dark purple.

20. “Ikseongwan” in *A Comprehensive Catalogue of Korean Costume* at the National Folk Museum of Korea.

Jangot

장옷

Women's coat also used as head covering

A type of coat worn by women of the Joseon Dynasty.

The Chinese characters for jangot are “長衣,” which literally mean “long gown.” *Songgan irok*, a kind of encyclopedia written around the 19th century, and *Gyeongdo japji* (Kor. 경도잡지, Chin. 京都雜志, Eng. Miscellaneous Records of the Capital) refer to the jangot as *gyuui* (Kor. 규의, Chin. 桂衣, lit. women's clothing). Though widely known as a headdress worn by women, up until the 18th century it was worn as a coat, like the men's *durumagi*. From the 18th century the jangot was both a garment worn on the body like a coat or over the head. The jangot takes the form of a long, full coat and was the major type of garment worn by women when they went out. It was made in varied ways, with unlined ramie for summer wear, and lined, quilted and padded for winter wear. According to region or household, the jangot was worn as bridal attire or was used as shrouding for the deceased. However, it has some special characteristics that set it apart from other coats and outer robes of the same period. First, the inner collar and outer collar are wide, straight collars called *mokpangit* and the sleeves are the same width from the shoulder down to the wrists. Long white cuffs called *geodeulji* were attached at the ends of the sleeves and rolled up, and the area under the armpits was decorated with a small square gore of fabric in another color. The front and side panels were wide to expand the breadth of the lower half of the robe. Jangot



Jangot, women's coat | Length: 122.7 cm, Chest: 51.5 cm, Hwajang: 78 cm | 1997 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Women wearing jangot over the head | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea



Yonso dapcheong (Spring Outing) by Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation

were cut large during the 16th century but from the mid-17th century they were made smaller and the lower half narrower to create a more stylish garment.

In the first late Joseon Dynasty, when women went out on horseback they wore a jangot and a veiled hat called *neoul* on their heads. If we look at the position of the chest ties on jangot from the 16th and 17th centuries it is plain they were worn on the body rather than draped over the head. From the 18th century, rather than going out to ride a horse themselves, women were carried in a palanquin so they started to wear the jangot over the head rather than the *neoul*, which was uncomfortable to wear inside a small enclosed space.

Jeokgwan

적관 翟冠

Queen's ceremonial headdress

Crown worn by queens of the Joseon Dynasty when dressed in the ceremonial robe *jeogui*.

The jeokgwan (Kor. 적관, Chin. 翟冠, lit. pheasant crown) is characterized by its seven phoenix motifs.

In the late Goryeo Dynasty, in the fifth month of 1370 (19th year of the reign of King Gongmin), Empress Ma of the Ming Dynasty sent to Princess Noguk a crown decorated with seven pheasants and two phoenixes (*chilhui*

ibonggwan), the crown representing the queen of a nation. In the Joseon Dynasty, Queen Wongyeong received the *chiljeokgwan* (lit. seven pheasant crown) in the 10th month of 1403 (3rd year of the reign of King Taejong). *Joseon wangjo sillok* (*Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*) contains several records from 1403 to the first half of the 17th century showing that the Ming Dynasty sent a letter conferring the queen with a title along with a crown (*juchuichil jeokgwan*), a vest (*baeja*) and a ceremonial cape (*hapi*). Most of the records in the annals regarding the queen's crown, jeokgwan, comprise a list of objects with no description. These items include the *juchuichil jeokgwan*, gold hairpin (*geumjam*), gold pheasant, *bojeonhwa*, and *gyeolja*. The record from 1403 is relatively detailed and reveals that the jeokgwan was made with more than 4,000 pearls big and small and that it was lavishly decorated with ornaments of gold, pearls and jadeite.

No jeokgwan relics from the Joseon period have been found, but based on those excavated in China the phoenix ornaments were made of silver thread and thick paper and were decorated with pearls and feathers. Jeokgwan relics reported to be extant in China include the crown worn by Lady Son, consort of King Ikseon, and Lady O, consort of King Yeongjeong. According to reports, the frame of the crown was made of copper wire, which was covered with black gauze. At the bottom of the crown was a band of gold (*gugwon*), which was decorated with flowers. From the back of the crown ornaments called *bakbin* stretch out to both sides. Made of long strips of bamboo they are attached to the crown, which is finished off with two gold phoenix-decorated *binyeo* at the top.

In the late Joseon Dynasty, under moves to reorganize ceremonial attire to fit Korean customs, the jeokgwan was replaced with the

crown called *daesu*, consisting of a big wig called *gache* and *binyeo* hairpins. When Gojong proclaimed the Korean Empire, a new system of ceremonial attire for the emperor and empress was organized. The empress' ceremonial attire was modified to comprise a deep blue *jeogui* robe and crown decorated with nine dragons and four phoenixes (*guryong sabonggwan*) but it is not known if this was actually carried out. Photographs remain showing Empress Sunjeong wearing *jeogui* and remaining relics indicate that King Yeongchin's consort wore the *daesu* style.

The *juchuichil jeokgwan* was the highest ceremonial crown worn by the queen during the early half of Joseon and it was received along with the royal robes from the Ming Dynasty. Decorated with seven pheasants, it was also sumptuously ornamented with gold, pearls and jade. The jeokgwan continued to be bestowed on the queen from the foundation of Joseon to the first half of the 17th century but after the fall of the Ming Dynasty the *jeokgwan* was not received from China. In later years the queen's jeokgwan was replaced by the *daesu* hairstyle, made with braids and *binyeo* (hairpins), which continued to the end of Joseon.

Jeollip

전립 戰笠

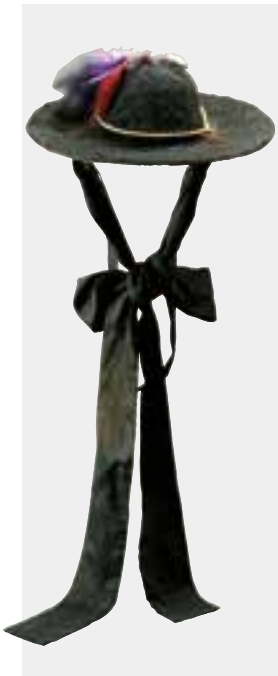
Military hat

Paeraengi type hat worn by military officials with their uniform.

The jeollip (Kor. 전립, Chin. 氈笠, lit. felt hat) is a felt hat that was also called *morip* (fur hat) or



Ssanggeom daemu (Sword Dance) by Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation



Jeollip, military hat | Height: 9.5 cm, Diameter: 34.5 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Portrait of a military official | Korea Army Museum

jeollip with different Chinese characters (戰笠) meaning “military hat.” Felt refers to animal fur that has been pressed and matted into a thick material without any decoration, and the name jeollip comes from its material. The other version of the name jeollip, which means military hat, was given because it was indeed the hat worn during battle with military uniform.

As the hat worn with military uniform, the jeollip was made with animal fur that was pressed and thickly matted to fulfill its major function of protecting the head by preventing the penetration of arrows. Though the hat was worn for a functional purpose it also served to distinguish between ranks through the ornaments attached to the top of the hat (*sangmo* or *jeongja*). At the part where the crown meets the brim, cicada-shaped ornaments of *milbwa* (a

kind of amber) and a hat string of amber beads was hung. These luxurious materials served to show off the wearer's status.

With the introduction of Western-style military uniforms the jeollip was no longer worn, but today it is still used in traditional performing arts such as the sword dance and in *nongak* (farmer's music, dance and rites) during the *sangmo*-twirling performance where the performer twirls a long ribbon attached to the jeollip.

Jeongdongbeollip

정동벌립

Brimmed laborer's hat of Jeju Island

A summer work hat with brim worn on Jeju Island, made of wild queen coral bead vines.

Herders and farmers on Jeju Island wore jeongdongbeollip in summer as they looked after their horses and sheep on the mountains and plains for protection against the summer sunlight and rain. It is not known when this hat was first made, but men made them during the farming layover season and used them for workwear. The better made ones were worn by both men and women when going on an outing.

In recent times this traditional Jeju hat has been modified to suit modern tastes in the form of a fedora or panama hat. The new hats have designs of two warp threads but the brim is so narrow that the hat serves no practical function. It is simply a local product that is worn for fashion.

The hat has another name, *yaksok beollip*, which aptly sums up its major features. If one



Jeongdongbeollip | Height: 14 cm, Diameter: 48.5 cm | Jeju National Museum



Farmer wearing jeongdongbeollip on the head and dorongi around the shoulders | Jeju National University Museum

walks around wearing this hat on a windy day, the wide, light brim would flap up and down in the wind, much like a person nodding when making a promise or appointment (*yaksok*). Though a handsome, practical hat it was essentially a laborer's hat and for this reason could not be worn when visiting a government office.

Jeongjagwan

정자관 程子冠

Official's everyday indoor cap

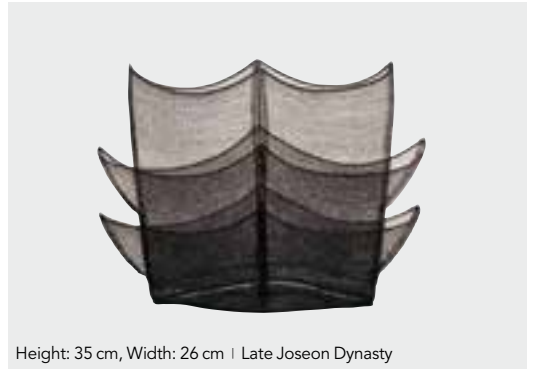
Joseon Dynasty hat worn by members of the scholar-official class (*sadaebu*) with everyday informal attire.



Portrait of Yi Chae | Joseon | National Museum of Korea



Height: 16.5 cm, Width: 29 cm | 1983



Height: 35 cm, Width: 26 cm | Late Joseon Dynasty

Jeongjagwan, everyday hat worn by the upper class | National Folk Museum of Korea

With neo-Confucianism adopted as the state ideology of Joseon, scholars of that time, out of admiration for the scholars of the Northern Song Dynasty who had been influenced by Zhu Xi (朱子), copied the hat that the scholars wore. The jeongjagwan (Kor. 정자관, Chin. 程子冠, lit. Chengzi hat), called *chengziguan* in China, was named after the Confucian scholars Chengzi (程子), which is pronounced Jeongja in Korean, who are said to have worn this type of hat. The name Chengzi refers to two brothers, Cheng Hao (1032-1085) and Cheng Yi (1033-1107), who were also called Er-Cheng, meaning “the two Cheng brothers.” The hat, or indoor cap, that the two brothers wore was called *cheng-zijin*. The book on rituals *Sangbyeon tonggo* (Kor. 상변통고, Chin. 常變通攷) from the late Joseon Dynasty quotes the size of the hat worn

by the brothers from *The Complete Writings of the Cheng Brothers* (二程全書, *Ercheng quanshu*). Mentioning *Myeongsinnok* (名臣錄), a record of noted government officials of Joseon, it said the hat the Cheng brothers wore had a high *tong* and low *cheom* and was tied on with strings.

Made with horsehair, the hat had pointed peaks like a three-peaked crown (Kor. 삼산관, Chin. 三山冠) and was worn by Confucian scholars with informal attire at home. The typical shape and characteristics can be seen in portraits and photographs as well as relics from the latter half of the 19th century.

Though the jeongjagwan originated in China, the way it was made with transparent horsehair and worn layered over a topknot cap called *tangeon* was uniquely Korean. As a symbol of their status and rank, high officials of Joseon

made the hat in the form of pointed mountain peaks, and rather than a hat with a single tier of peaks they preferred the double-tier jeongjagwan, which is another Korean characteristic. As such, the jeongjagwan is a distinctively Joseon hat made with the originality of Joseon craftsmen and the aesthetic of Joseon scholars. Today, the skill of making jeongjagwan with horsehair is being handed down through the art of *tanggeon* making, which has been designated Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 67.

Jeonmo

전모 髻帽

Conical women's hat

Conical hat worn by women of the Joseon Dynasty when they went out.

The jeonmo (Kor. 전모, Chin. 髻帽, lit. paper hat) is a conical hat made with a frame consisting of a small circle at the top and large circle at the bottom that ensures the face will be covered, connected with slanting bamboo ribs and covered with oiled paper. It was worn by women when they went out. Another frame called *misari* is placed inside the hat so that it sits



Jeonmo, women's conical hat with flat top | Joseon | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum



Jeonmo sseun yeoin (Woman Wearing Jeonmo Hat) by Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Museum of Korea

comfortably on the head, and the outside is lavishly decorated with butterflies and the Chinese characters for good fortune (福) and wealth (富). It was generally worn by women of low social status such as *gisaeng* (professional entertainers) and doctors. Today jeonmo is perceived to be the hat representative of *gisaeng*, who can often be seen wearing it in historical TV dramas and movies set in the Joseon period.

Jobawi

조바위

Women's winter hat with ear-flaps

Winter hat that covers the cheeks, worn for



Young lady of the Min family | Print by Elizabeth Keith | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea



Jobawi, winter hat worn by women and children | Length: 34 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

warmth by women and children.

Though the exact origin of the jobawi is not known, considering that it is short in the back to allow a small chignon to show it is presumed it was widespread from the late Joseon Dynasty to modern times. All women and children from the nobility to the commoners wore the jobawi for warmth when they went out in winter and sometimes for ornamental purposes. It was more widespread than a similar winter hat called *ayam*. The jobawi is open at the top as if it has a hole in it and has flaps that come down and cover the cheeks. The back is not long and sits over a chignon or braid.

The outer fabric is patterned silk and the lining is blue and a bead string is hung over the hat from the forehead to the back. Tassels in red, yellow and blue are hung at the front and back. Children's jobwai are made in varied colors and are richly decorated with Chinese characters meaning longevity and good fortune and gold leaf butterflies, flowers and bats. The jobawi is the traditional Korean hat with the shortest history and although it has largely disappeared in modern times, today female children wear jobawi decorated with luxurious gold leaf designs on their first birthday.

Jokduri

족두리 簇頭里

Women's ceremonial coronet

Women's coronet worn with ceremonial attire during the Joseon Dynasty.

The jokduri (Kor. 족두리, Chin. 簇頭里) is a ceremonial coronet which was worn during the reigns of Yeongjo and Jeongjo of Joseon as a replacement for the *gache* hairstyle.

In 1756 (32nd year of reign) King Yeongjo banned women from wearing the big wig called *gache* because of the rising extravagance of women seeking bigger and more lavishly decorated hairdos and commanded that jokduri be worn on the head instead. The ban on *gache* is mentioned in records several times afterwards.



Jokduri (coronet) | Height: 8 cm, Width: 11 cm, Bottom diameter: 9.5 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Jokduri (coronet) | Excavated from the Tomb of An in Sunheung | First half 17th century | Daejeon Municipal Museum

The jokduri became established as a form of women's ceremonial hat and the tradition is preserved to this day as women wear the coronet in traditional weddings. However, in the late 16th to early 17th century, jokduri were large, as confirmed by some ten relics of this kind. Initially they were thought to be part of the shrouding garments but several factors were against this conclusion: the fact that several of them were found together in the same tomb, and that they were discovered at the *daeryeom* stage (final shrouding and placement in the coffin) of the

funeral rites, indicate that they were not part of the shroud. As in the portrait of Lady Yi from Gyerim, wife of Jo Ban (1341-1401), who can be seen wearing a coronet, before the 18th century big jokduri were worn to cover the head like a women's hat. Later versions of jokduri did not cover the whole head but sat on the top of it. A jokduri discovered in the tomb of Lady Kwon from Andong indicates that over time it grew much smaller than those dating to the first half of the 17th century.



Jokduri (coronet) of early Joseon | Detail of the portrait of Jo Ban's wife | Joseon | National Museum of Korea



Plain jokduri (coronet) | Painting of a sixtieth wedding anniversary banquet | 18th century | National Museum of Korea

Jurip

주립 朱笠

Red military hat

Red hat worn by high-ranking civil and military officials of the Joseon Dynasty when dressed in *yungbok*, a type of military robe.

The jurip (Kor. 주립, Chin. 綿紬, lit. red hat) is the same as the representative Joseon Dynasty men's hat called *gat*, except that it is coated with red lacquer. For this reason it is also called *jarip* (Kor. 자립, Chin. 紫笠, lit. purple hat). During the Joseon period, the military uniform called *yungbok* was worn by both civil and military officials at times calling for nimble, rapid movement such as a royal procession, taking part in a diplomatic mission, or in times of war.

The jurip was a special hat that could only be worn by officials of high rank. But by the reign of Gwanghaegun in the late Joseon Dynasty it came to be worn by the low-born as well, leading to arguments about confusion in the costume rules distinguishing the higher classes from the lower classes. But this was a tempo-



Jurip, red-lacquered hat | Height: 14 cm, Diameter: 15 cm |
National Folk Museum of Korea



Munyeo sinmu (Shaman Dance) by Shin Yunbok |
Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation

rary phenomenon and for the most part of the Joseon period the jurip was worn with *yungbok* by court officials. It went out of use when Western-style military uniforms were adopted in the late Joseon Dynasty along with modernization of society and the Gabo reforms.

In the past shamans would wear the jurip and dress like a military official when conducting rites (*gut*). The shamans chased away evil spirits to cure people of disease, and they dressed in military robes and the jurip to borrow the authority of military officials to expel spirits and raise the morale of the people.

Manggeon

망건 網巾

Men's headband

Headband worn by adult men around the forehead to keep their hair in place during the Joseon Dynasty.

The manggeon is a type of netting headband made of woven horsehair, which was worn around the forehead to keep the hair tidy when it was worn in a topknot. The Confucian scholars of Joseon (*seonbi*), who considered neat and proper attire to be very important, wore their manggeon at all times except when sleeping in order to maintain a proud and dignified appearance, like a crane. Only when going to sleep at night would they finally undo their topknots and untie the headband. The headband was put right back on the next morning after washing the face. King Jeongjo reputedly never took his manggeon off, except to sleep, even when lying down ill. Though men generally kept their headband by their side, when it was not in use it was rolled up and stored in a special manggeon case, which in itself was considered precious and usually made of high-quality material. According to rank and economic circumstances, the case was made of wood and decorated with ivory and other expensive materials.

In the late Joseon Dynasty the manggeon became widespread and craftsmen working privately in regions where horsehair was produced made the headbands in large quantities. When Crown Prince Sohyeon was married in 1627 (5th year of the reign of King Injo), a time when it was difficult for craftsmen to make manggeon in the aftermath of the Japanese



Manggeon | Length: 54.5 cm , Width: 8 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Manggeon (headband) | Detail of *Huwonajipdo* by Baek Eunbae | 19th century | National Museum of Korea

invasions (Imjin waeran), the state mobilized artisan Park Malnam for the occasion. This was the only occasion of a manggeon artisan being called by the state in the late Joseon Dynasty.

Records of manggeon production are found throughout the Joseon period but the way they were worn must be confirmed in portraits or genre paintings from the late Joseon Dynasty. Most of the relics handed down are also from that time.

opening at the top of the head, covers the ears and the head, and hangs down long at the back.

Nambawi is open on the top and the shape of the right and left sides are curved in three steps, like a swallow's tail. This winter hat fully covers the forehead, the head, and ears and the edges are trimmed with fur. The back is long and covers the neck. Some nambawi have *bolkki* attached to cover the cheeks and the chin in cold weather. The *bolkki* is a kind of a detachable flap, made with a different fabric to the rest of the hat, that was bent up and tied with straps. On cold winter days, the *bolkki* were lowered to cover the cheeks and chin, and the straps were tied beneath the chin. The outer fabric of *nambawi* was mostly black *dan* (satin), but young women's nambawi were also made of crimson or dark blue silk.

The edges of the hat were trimmed with black or dark brown fur and the front and back of the hat were sometimes adorned with tassels, knots, coral strings or gemstones such as jade. In many cases the tassels were pink or dark pink. In addition, women's nambawi were richly decorated with gold leaf designs of auspicious motifs, cranes, butterflies, phoenixes, and chrysanthemums. Nambawi worn in spring and fall had edges trimmed with black satin rather than fur. Nambawi worn in mourning were covered

Nambawi

남바위

Unisex winter hat

Hat worn by men and women to keep warm in winter during the Joseon Dynasty. It has an



Nambawi | Width: 18 cm , Height: 34 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Official in Jongmyojerye | Print by Elizabeth Keith | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea

with white silk on the outside, lined with black flannel, and trimmed with black fur.

Neoul

너울

Women's face covering

A headdress worn by upper class women of the Joseon Dynasty to cover their faces when going out in public.

The neoul was worn over the head and came down below the shoulders. Made of loosely woven silk such as *la* or *cho*, the wearer could see through it but her face could not be seen. The use of the neoul by upper class women in the first late Joseon Dynasty is often mentioned



Neoul | Length: 13.6 cm, Diameter: 14.6 cm | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Neoul | Detail from state record for Queen Jeongsun and King Yeongjo's wedding | 1759 | National Museum of Korea

in records, whereas its use in the latter half is mostly found in *uigwe*, or illustrated state records.

Paeraengi

패랭이

Bamboo hat worn by commoners

A hat made of thick bamboo strips worn during the Joseon Dynasty.

Paeraengi is the pure Korean name for a hat made of woven bamboo stalks, belonging to the category of hats known as *pyeongynangja* (Kor. 평량자, Chin. 蔽陽笠, lit. sun shielding hat), *pye-yangnip* or *paeyangja*. On hats belonging to the type known as *pyeongynangja*, the *daeui*, the cylindrical crown, is clearly distinguished from the *yangtae*, the round brim. Paeraengi, the origin of the *pyeongynangja* type of hat, was mainly used to protect against the sun. The top of the crown was rounded and the brim was not very wide. *Pyeongynangja* hats developed from the paeraengi to the *chorip* and the *heungnip*. The brim on the *paeraengi* turns slightly downwards while the brim on the *chorip* is turned upwards.

It is recorded in texts such as *Yeonnyeosisul*, *Imha pilgi*, and *Yagok samgwangi* that “During the Japanese invasions [1592-1598] the enemy captured any *yangban* wearing a *heungnip* but not people wearing a paeraengi, considering them to be very poor. So the *yangban* also wore the paeraengi, which hence became very popular for a while.” As this indicates, the *heungnip* was the hat worn by Joseon's scholars and government officials. The use of the paeraengi gradually declined, and by late Joseon



Paeraengi, woven bamboo hat | Height: 12 cm, Diameter: 33 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea

Dynasty it had become fixed as the hat worn by low-ranking workers at post stations, back and pack peddlers (*bobusang*), and others performing low jobs. The peddlers in particular wore the paeraengi with large balls of cotton wool attached. In 1895 (32nd year of the reign of King Gojong) all people regardless of rank and status were allowed to wear the *heungnip*, but the low-born (*cheonin*) did not dare to wear it and continued to use the paeraengi. By the end of the Joseon Dynasty, the paeraengi was used only as a work hat to protect against the sun, rain, and wind. Straw hats, which are commonly worn in summer today, can be seen as a type of paeraengi when it comes to form or function.

The hat known as *ip* (Kor. 입, Chin. 笠, lit. bamboo hat), is one of the oldest hats worn in Korea, its basic shape being that of either *pyeongnyangja* (with a brim) or *satgat* (conical hat). At first, rather than being a proper hat it was a tool to block the heat and rain, but as materials and manufacturing methods gradually developed, the types of *ip* and their function expanded. Among them, the paeraengi developed into the *chorip* and *heungnip*, and thus was the origin of the *heungnip* (otherwise known as *gat*), which was the representative male hat of the Joseon Dynasty.

Pungcha

풍차 風遮

Winter headdress worn by men and women

Winter hat worn by men and women during the Joseon Dynasty.

The pungcha (Kor. 풍차, Chin. 風遮, lit. wind cover) is similar to the *nambawi* in that it is open at the top, comes down the forehead at the front and covers the ears. It has a vent in the center at the back so that the hat can be adjusted to the size of the wearer's head. The pungcha also has *bolkki* attached, flaps that cover the ears, cheeks, and chin for complete protection against the cold. When the *bolkki* were not needed they were tied up at the back of the head. On cold days the *bolkki* were let down to cover both cheeks and were tied together under the chin. The outside of the hat was made of crimson, navy or black satin (*dan*) and the lining was made of navy blue or green silk. The hat was trimmed around the edges with rabbit or fox fur. A thinner version which was not trimmed with fur but velvet was worn from spring till late autumn. Other materials used to make pungcha include wool, black satin, *gyeobi* and *galpo* (brown cloth). In later years the *bolkki*



Pungcha, winter hat | Length: 38 cm, Width: 36 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Pungcha, winter hat, worn on New Year's Day | Print by Elizabeth Keith | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea

were not made separately and later attached but were cut as part of the hat from the beginning. The pungcha was also called *pungdengi*. Men wore an official's hat or *gat* over the pungcha, while the women's version was decorated with a string of beads or coral fixed to the front and back with decorative knots and tassels, or pieces of jade and jadeite as ornaments.

In a Joseon Dynasty lexicon, the words *pungnyeong* (Kor. 풍령, Chin. 風領, lit. wind collar) and *nani* (Kor. 난이, Chin. 暖耳, lit. warm ears) are offered as alternatives for pungcha, indicating that it is a winter hat with *bolkki* attached to cover the ears. In a survey of living conditions carried out by the Japanese Government-general in 1929 pungcha was described as a hat similar to the *nambawi* but with *bolkki* worn tied up at the top of the head.

Samo

사모 紗帽

Official's hat

Official's hat worn by civil and military officials.

The samo (Kor. 사모, Chin. 紗帽, lit. silk hat) is an official's hat derived from *bokdu* and worn by civil and military officials as part of their uniforms from the late Goryeo Dynasty to the late Joseon Dynasty. The samo was first used as an everyday hat by government officials of the late Goryeo period. During the Joseon Dynasty it was worn with both everyday wear and official uniform and gradually became established as official attire and later ceremonial attire.

Generally, a black samo was worn for daily use and a white one at funerals. An old record

Samo | Diameter: 17 cm , Height: 16.5 cm



Baeksamo (White official's hat) | Diameter: 19 cm, Height: 16.5 cm



Samo | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea

states that the king wore *osamo*, which is a black samo. According to *Jibong yuseol* (*Topical Discourse of Jibong Yi Su-gwang*), the samo originated from the *dugeon* of the Chinese Tang Dynasty. During the Yuan Dynasty the *dugeon* had two straps hanging down, and in later times bamboo or wire was inserted in them to make them stiff and spread out to the side. The surface was woven with thin bamboo strips and horsehair, which was covered with thin silk cloth named *sapo*. This is presumably why the hat is called samo.

The samo has a low front and high back and “wings” (*gak*) attached at the back of the hat. The two-tiered samo had a relatively round top compared to *bokdu*. The two wings attached

Portrait of Jeong Mongju |
Late 14th century



Portrait of Yi Deokhyeong |
Early 17th century



Portrait of O Myeonghang |
Early 18th century



Portrait of Yi Donsang |
Mid 19th century



Samo | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum

in the back and the height of the back section changed over time. During the late Goryeo and early Joseon periods, the samo was low and the tips of the two wings on the left and right sides were round and long and pointed down. However, the two wings gradually became wider as they stuck out horizontally. In other words, in the early stage, the samo had a low back section and the two wings looked like black hair ribbons draping down. In the latter half of the 1600s, the back section became much higher and the two wings became longer and narrower, then in the 1700s the wings grew wider again and rounded at the end. In the 1800s, the back section of the hat became lower and the body of the hat longer, while the

two wings became shorter and bent inward as if enfolding the hat. The samo, while undergoing many changes, continued to be used until the late Joseon Dynasty.

Sangmo

상모 象毛

Tassel or ribbon ornament attached
to the top of the *jeollip*

Tassel or ribbon ornament attached to the top of the *jeollip*.

The origin of the word sangmo (Kor. 상모, Chin. 象毛, lit. elephant fur) has not been clearly identified but it appears to be a purely Korean word. *Nogeoldae*, a kind of textbook on the Chinese language, mentions a hat ornament called *hongyeong* (Kor. 홍영, Chin. 紅纓, lit. red tassel), and in the third edition of the book, titled *Nogeoldae eonhae*, this is interpreted as sangmo. Here the character *yeong* (纓) means a ribbon that hangs down low beyond the hat or an ornament at the top of the hat. It was red, which is why it was called *hongyeong*, as *hong* means red. During the Joseon Dynasty, sangmo was expressed in Chinese characters as *sang-mo* (象毛) or *sak-mo* (槩毛). The original purpose



Sangmo, military hat with ornament attached at the top | Length: 42 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Chaesangmo, hat with long ribbon attached | Photo from Pyeongtaek Nongak performance | National Folk Museum of Korea



Buposangmo, hat with feather tuft attached | Photo from Gimje Nongak performance | National Folk Museum of Korea

of hanging noise-making leather or threads on the hat and spinning them around was to bewilder the enemy. This leads to the presumption that the sangmo is a hat with military origins that was later adapted for entertainment purposes.

From ancient times Korean hats were commonly decorated with a few separate feathers or a bunch of feathers. It is supposed that the sangmo hats used in *nongak* (farmers' music, dance and rites) would have developed from such roots. Therefore, the sangmo used in *non-gak* performances was not introduced from outside the country but is a hat style native to Korea. Early forms of sangmo would have been simple and modest.

Sangtugwan

상투관

Topknot cap

Men's cap worn over a topknot.

Sangtugwan is a small cap that was worn over an adult man's topknot, or *sangtu*. The head-dress called *chipogwan*²¹ was also a kind of topknot cap. In Confucian society it was considered rude to show a bare topknot so a cap was always worn over it. This custom, however, was reserved for the upper class.

Sangtugwan can be seen as the oldest type of hat worn in Korea. In ancient times the hair was tied up and wrapped in a piece of cloth, which developed into a type of hat of fixed form. Over the ages, the sangtugwan went through many changes in form. The hats called *tongcheongwan*,²² *wonyugwan*,²³ *yanggwan*,²⁴



Height: 9.1 cm, Diameter: 7 cm



Height: 7 cm, Width: 2.3 cm

Sangtugwan, cap worn over a topknot | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Portrait of Im Mae | 1777 | National Museum of Korea

jinhyeongwan,²⁵ *chungjeongwan*²⁶ and *waryong-gwan*²⁷ (or *jegalgeon*) all evolved from topknot caps.

21. The *chipogwan* was a kind of cap worn over the topknot from ancient China to the Joseon Dynasty. In the late Joseon Dynasty Heo Jeon changed it into a hat that covered the whole head. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

22. When Gojong became emperor he wore *tongcheongwan* with a court robe called *gangsapo*.

23. Hat worn by the king, crown prince, and crown prince's son with the court robe *gangsapo*.

24. Hat worn by civil and military officials with court attire or ritual attire.

25. This hat is made in the same way as *gaechaek* but has a different structure.

26. Everyday hat worn by the scholar-official class.

27. Informal hat worn by the scholar-official class when at their leisure. It is high in the middle and has a vertical groove. It was worn by Zhuge Liang of China in China's Three Kingdoms period.

Satgat

삿갓

Conical bamboo hat

Hat made of woven reeds or bamboo worn by the ordinary people.

Satgat is one of the oldest hats in the category of hats called *gat*. It is a Korean hat worn by ordinary people through the ages, from before the Three Kingdoms period and through the enlightenment and modern periods. A conical hat, high and pointed at the top, it has a round or hexagonal body and is big enough to cover the whole face. A frame called *misari* is placed inside to support the head. With no distinct brim, the hat tapers from top to bottom and was worn to protect the wearer from rain or sunshine.

The satgat is made from reeds split and dried. The strands, called *sat*, were trimmed to a uniform width and tied together to make a pointed end at the top. The space between strands grows gradually wider towards the bottom and the weft strands are passed through them. The hat is finished off when it is long enough to cover the whole face and a piece of paper is then pasted on the inside. Satgat were divided into different types according to material and function. The monk's satgat was particularly wide and long and made of bamboo, which is why it was called *daesatgat*. In everyday life, satgat were mostly worn by farmers as they worked, which is why the hat was also called *nongnip* (lit. agricultural hat). When it was worn for mourning and was used to cover the face and hide one's sadness it was called *sangnip* (lit. funeral hat). As it was so useful for covering the face, the satgat was



Height: 21.5 cm, Diameter: 63.7 cm | 1950s



Men holding *goengi* (hoe) | Early 1900s



Woman wearing *satgat* | Japanese colonial period

Satgat | National Folk Museum of Korea

once considered to be the hat exclusively worn by vagabonds. But in fact, women and girls also wore it when they went out to cover their faces. Women's versions of satgat were more finely made and hence called *sedae satgat*, meaning "fine bamboo hat." But generally, the satgat was mostly worn by men of the commoner class.

While maintaining its characteristic conical shape the satgat has long been an important part of Korea's clothing history. A commoner's hat with many varied functions and uses, it was effective in keeping out the rain and sunlight and was made with easily available materials. It was also suitable for covering the face when in mourning or on other occasions, and was hence used up until Korea's modern period.

Songnak

송낙

Buddhist monk's hat

Everyday hat worn by Buddhist monks, made of beard lichen (*songna*).

One of the various hats worn by Buddhist monks, the songnak was also called *songnanip* (Kor. 송라립, Chin. 松蘿笠, lit. lichen hat) and *seungnip* (Kor. 승립, Chin. 僧笠, lit. monk's hat). It has no separate brim and tapers from the pointed top to the bottom, forming a conical shape. Hats of this shape were worn by Koreans from ancient times and comprise an indigenous type of peaked hat.

Songnak are made from beard lichen which grows on old and dead pine trees. The custom of monks wearing a peaked hat is significant in that when Buddhism became firmly established

in Korea, the foreign elements of monastic attire, which was transmitted from China along with Buddhism, were changed and developed in an individual way. For monks who shaved their heads and were thus limited in their choice of hats, the songnak, along with patchwork robes, served to express the modesty and honest poverty of the Buddhist monk. Moreover the hat not only functioned to protect the body from the natural elements but was also practical as it was made with materials easily obtained in nature. When the material is changed from lichen to ramie it becomes a different monk's hat, the peaked hat called *gokkal*.



Songnak, Buddhist monk's hat | Height: 18 cm | 1850 | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum



Monks wearing songnak and kkokkal hats | Detail from *Siju* (Offering Alms) by Kim Hongdo | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Museum of Korea

Sseugaechima

쓰개치마

Women's skirt-shaped headdress

A headdress in the shape of a skirt that women and children wore when going out from the mid-Joseon Dynasty.

The sseugaechima has the same form as the traditional skirt (*chima*) but is around 30 cm shorter and not as wide. It is unlined garment made with red or jade fabric with a waistband about 10 cm smaller than the usual waistband. Adding a calico waistband with pleats, this part covered the forehead and either end of the waistband was gathered together under the chin and held in the hands to stop the sseugaechima from slipping off. Though wide enough to go around the head and be held in both hands, plenty of pleats were made on the inner side so that the skirt bulged naturally over the head while the garment fell gracefully over the back of the head. Usually made of white or jade calico or silk, it was common to hang up a jade colored calico sseugaechima somewhere inside so that it could be taken up easily when going out. According to season it was either lined or quilted for warmth. In summer it was made with *sa* fabric (light silk) and was always used when going outside, no matter how hot the weather was.

With fractures appearing in the social class system in the latter late Joseon Dynasty, Confucian ethics were strengthened and society became a patriarchal society in order to set things back in order. Headgear designed to conceal the face was only worn by women and differed according to rank. The *neoul* was used in the palace, sseugaechima by the upper class, and *jangot*



Sseugaechima, skirt-shaped headdress | Kyunggi Girls' High School Kyungwoon Museum



Sseugaechima, skirt-shaped headdress seen in *Wolha jeongin* (Lovers Under the Moon) by Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation

by the *jungin* class and commoners. Compared to the *neoul* and *jangot*, sseugaechima was simpler to wear and to make and when the distinctions between upper and lower classes became vague it was widely worn by all women. But it gradually grew shorter and eventually went out of use.

Tanggeon

탕건 宕巾

Men's cap worn under a hat

Men's cap worn over the headband *manggeon* or under other hats during the Joseon period.

The tanggeon is a brimless cap woven sparsely with black horsehair and is lower in the front than at the back, with a raised spot in the middle. They were worn daily worn by upper class men of Joseon. A simple form of tanggeon was worn over the *manggeon* to cover men's top-knots. Types of tanggeon made by *tanggeonjang* (horsehair hat craftsmen) are classified into three types according to quality based on the number of lines and levels of density of *dorisu*: *sangtang* (high), *jungtang* (middle), and *hatang* (low) in the order of density of weave. These horsehair hats are then subdivided by makers into single-layered hat (*hottanggeon*), dou-



Tanggeon, scholar-official's cap | Length: 14 cm, Width: 17 cm | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Folk Museum of Korea

ble-layered hat (*gyeoptanggeon*), and hat with checkerboard design (*baduktanggeon*) according to how they are made. Tanggeon are woven onto a wooden mold called *tanggeongol* and then boiled, which are common processes in tanggeon making. However, depending on type, the production process can require several additional steps. Pictures of tanggeon making can be seen in genre paintings from the latter late Joseon Dynasty and today the techniques are passed down by *tanggeonjang*.



Yangban wearing tanggeon caps | Detail from *Sugapgaecheop* | 1814 | National Museum of Korea

Tongcheongwan

통천관 通天冠
Emperor's coronet

Official hat worn by the emperor with the ceremonial robe *gangsapo*.

The tongcheongwan (Kor. 통천관, Chin. 通天冠) was one of the emperor's official hats worn along with the *gangsapo* (king's official red robe). According to *History of the Ming Dynasty*, the emperor Taizu wore the tongcheongwan with *gangsapo* when leaving the palace to visit a shrine, presenting sacrificial offerings, participating in coming-of-age ceremonies or wedding ceremonies of the crown prince and other kings, and hearing reports from his officials. The portrait of Emperor Gojong dressed in the tongcheongwan and *gangsapo* is currently preserved at the National Palace Museum of Korea.

The tongcheongwan was worn by Emperor Gojong at important state rites such as wedding ceremonies (*garye*) with *gangsapo*. The emperor's tongcheongwan has twelve ridges (*ryang*) on which twelve cicadas sit; each ridge is decorated with five beads, so a total of twelve lines of beads are placed on the twelve ridges. Straps are attached to both sides of the hat and a jade hair pin (*okjam*) is stuck into the top of the hat. Official hats that could be worn with *gangsapo* were *wonyugwan* and tongcheongwan. Of the two, the *wonyugwan* was worn by the king and the tongcheongwan by the emperor. As such, Emperor Gojong of the Korean Empire wore the tongcheongwan with his official robes.



Emperor Gojong | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea

Wonyugwan

원유관 遠遊冠
Official hat worn by royal men

Official hat worn by the king, the crown prince, and the crown prince's son along with *gangsapo*.

Wonyugwan (Kor. 원유관, Chin. 遠遊冠) is the hat worn as part of the formal attire called *wonyugwanbok*, which is composed of *gyu* (jade tablet), *gangsapo* (court robe), *sang*, *daedae* (belt), *jungdan*, *pae*, *su*, *pyeseul*, *mal*, and *seok*. According to the section on "Orye" (Five Rites) in *Sejong sillok* (*Annals of King Sejong*), the wonyugwan was worn along with *gangsapo* on the following occasions: when incense was delivered; when the wife of the crown prince offered greetings



Wonyugwan, official hat worn by the king | Height: 21 cm,
Diameter: 18 cm | First half 1900s | Oryundae Korean Martyrs
Museum

in the first month and 12th month of the year; when the crown prince and government officials offered congratulations to one another on the first day and fifth day of the lunar New Year; when ceremonies were held on happy occasions; when wedding gifts were sent to the homes of the queen or the crown princess; when the queen and the crown princess were invested; during a visit by the crown princess; when royal messages were delivered; and when ceremonial rites were held where appointment certificates and flowers and other gifts were bestowed on those who passed the state exams to select civil and military officials.

The wonyugwan was mostly made of black silk (*ra*). It has nine vertical ridges called (*ryang*) on the round crown that were decorated with 18 pieces of jade in five colors, nine in front and nine at the back. The yellow jade came first, followed by blue, white, red, and black. A gold hair pin was stuck into the crown and two red straps were tied below the chin and left to hang down. The crown prince wore a wonyugwan with eight vertical ridges decorated with jade beads of three colors, and the crown prince's son wore one with seven vertical ridges decorated with jade beads of three colors. In an extant portrait of King Gojong, the king is wearing a wonyug-

wan with 12 vertical ridges instead of 9. In this case the hat is called *tongcheongwan*. King Sunjo's portrait in which he wears the wonyugwan with his official attire was damaged in the Korean War (1950-1953) and remains half burnt.

The wonyugwan was worn not only at *garye* (royal weddings) but also rites at Jongmyo, the royal ancestral shrine, and at auspicious ceremonies such as *seonnongui* (rite to promote agriculture). In addition, when King Yeongjo said he would wear the wonyugwan in accordance with custom when he offered animal sacrifices to the royal ancestors in 1745 (21st year of reign), it seems the king expanded the original meaning of the official hat. *Wonyugwanbok* is classified as *seongbok* (formal dress) rather than *sisabok* (clothes worn by the king while tending state affairs). When King Sukjong ordered two royal portraits to be painted in 1713 (39th year of reign), one was painted with the king dressed in *myeonbok* (ceremonial attire) and the other in wonyugwan and *gangsapo*.

Yugeon

유건 儒巾

Confucian scholar's cap

Head scarf, or hood, worn indoors by Confucian scholars without government positions or *saengwon* (classics licentiate).

During the Joseon Dynasty, clothes and hats carried such great significance that a system was established stipulating that different clothes and hats be worn according to rank. Keeping propriety meant wearing outer robes or coats (*po*) over jacket and pants (*baji jeogori*)

for men or jacket and skirt (*chima jeogori*) for women and *geon* or *gwan* on the head. For this reason, the men's coming-of-age ceremony was called *gwallye* (Kor. 관례, Chin. 冠禮 lit. hat rite). According to *Yeseo* (*Book of Rites*), although there were slight differences, yugeon (Kor. 유건, Chin. 儒巾, lit. Confucian hood) was the hat worn during *samgarye* in the coming-of-age ceremony, referring to the third of three rites in which a different hat was put on each time. This suggests that the yugeon was one of the official hats constituting a part of ceremonial attire during the Joseon period.

Yugeon that are mentioned in records from Joseon are thought to be the hoods worn by students in class at the national Confucian academy Seonggyungwan. In addition men with the title of *jinsa* (literary licentiate) and *saengwon* were obliged to wear the yugeon along with black official robe (*dallyeong*) when they participated in *yuga*, a parade through the streets after passing the state civil service exams. When a civil official became a military official he was said to have swapped his yugeon for the *tugu*²⁸ (iron hat), an expression that shows the yugeon was the symbol of civil officials or Confucian scholars. In addition, the yugeon was also used as the symbol of Confucian scholars without a government position. It seems to have been worn while conducting rites at home in daily life along with the *dopo* (coat).

28. *Dogokjip*, collected works of Yi Ui-hyeon's verse and prose. "What made you change your yugeon for the tugu? (兜鍪何意巾)." (http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_BT_0464A_0010_010_0260_2015_001_XML, Sept. 28, 2020).



Yugeon, Confucian scholar's cap | Width: 24.8 cm, Height: 21.9 cm | First half 19th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



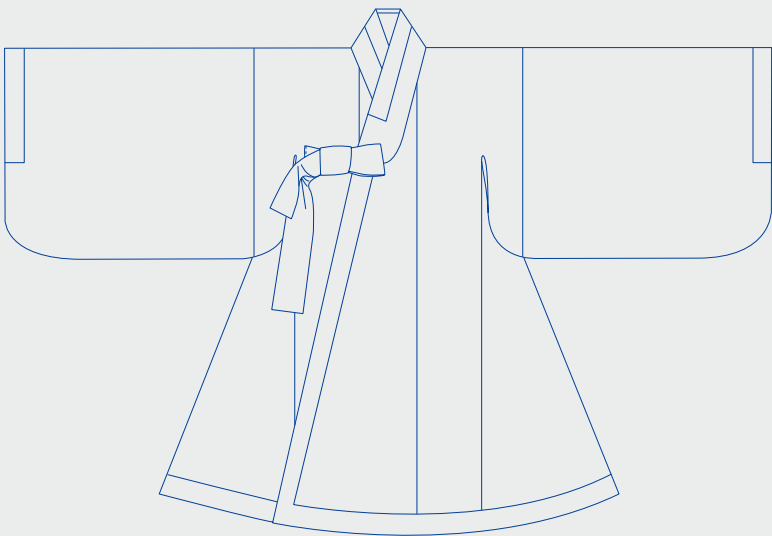
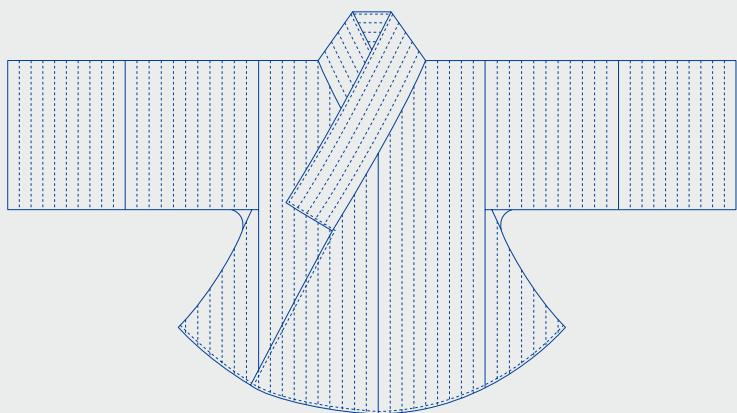
Ritual officiants dressed in ritual cap (yugeon) and coat (dopo) | Head home of Yun Seondo's family in Haenam, Jeollanam-do | National Folk Museum of Korea



Painting of a scholar entering the exam site | From Album of Genre Paintings by Gisan | 2002 replica | National Folk Museum of Korea

Upper garments

상의



Baeja

배자 褙子

Vest worn over jacket

Sleeveless vest worn over a jacket.

The baeja is a vest worn by both men and women over a jacket (*jeogori*). Though generally sleeveless some baeja have short sleeves. They also vary in length, from short to long.

Baeja were worn by men and women to keep warm in winter. However, women also wore baeja made of thin fabric during spring and fall. In the mid Joseon period, short-sleeved baeja were worn, but in the late 18th century they were replaced by sleeveless vests. This traditional vest had a round collar or square collar,

which was closed by making the right and left front panels meet rather than overlap, a method called *habim*, and has a detachable collar band (*dongjeong*). At the bottom of the collar band a round or knotted button is attached. The front and back shoulders are sewn together but the sides are completely open or there is a long side-slit below the armpit. Men's baeja have a string on the back panel and a loop on the front panel into which the string is tucked and tied. They were worn over a jacket or an overcoat. Meanwhile, women's baeja were sleeveless garments worn over a jacket, and of a similar length to the jacket. The baeja was widely viewed as an overgarment in the latter late Joseon Dynasty. In particular, fur lined baeja called *teoldeung-geori* or *teolbaeja*, widely worn by women in the Pyongyang region, were worn in winter after the nation's liberation from Japan in 1945 and continues to be worn today.



Baeja | Length: 44 cm, Chest: 32 cm, Armhole: 28.5 cm | 1890 | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum



Baeja | Detail of *Tujeon (Gambling with Cards)* by Seong Hyeop | National Museum of Korea

Baenaetjeogori

배냇저고리

Newborn baby's first garment

An upper garment without collar (*git*) and overlapping front panel (*seop*) that is the first piece of clothing a newborn baby wears after being bathed.

It is not known when baenaetjeogori were first made or why. But regardless of region and time, it was believed that a child must be born if a household is to prosper and the number of relatives increase. This garment holds great significance as the first garment worn by a baby.

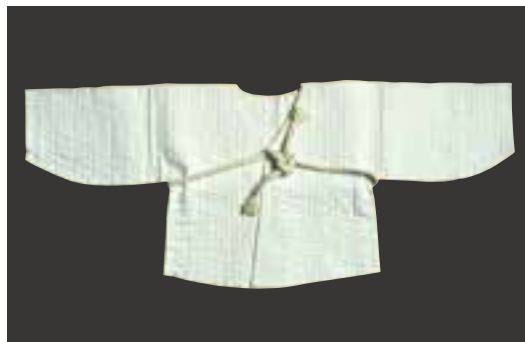
The cloth, color, size, and designs used on

a garment have their respective meanings and symbolism, and this is more the case with baenaetjeogori than any other garment. The baby's first garment was called by some 40 different names nationwide, but baenaetjeogori was the term most frequently used. It is a name suited for an upper garment to be worn by infants, given that it does not have important details such as the *git* and *seop*.

The baenaetjeogori is considered special among all garments for two reasons: because it is eventually handed down to another baby, and because it is considered a lucky garment. The baenaetjeogori first worn by a baby boy is thought to bring good luck and consequently is often handed down to another baby. Especially prized were baenaetjeogori that had been worn by the first son of a family or the eldest male descendant of a family, that is, the eldest son of the eldest son. It was worn for good luck and was thought to be even more effective if the garment had not been washed. So baenaetjeogori were carefully stored away, and on occasions requiring good fortune, such as an exam, or when receiving judgement in a trial, or when going to war, it was worn sewn into the lining at the back of an upper garment. This custom continued until recent times. People would wear their own baenaetjeogori or one loaned or given to them when taking an important exam, or in

special cases such as campaigning for election to the National Assembly, or even when gambling. In the past, grandmothers would use the baenaetjeogori to make a pad attached to the back of a grandson's overcoat, or put the baenaetjeogori into a pack carried on his back, not letting the grandson know the fact.

A baby's clothes required special attention. People believed that Samsin Halmeoni (goddess governing childbirth) was watching over them and if she saw that the clothes were not being handled properly she would regard it as a sign of disdain for her and would retaliate by hurting the baby. So the baenaetjeogori was never treated carelessly, even when it was being washed or was worn out. It was believed that throwing away baenaetjeogori or turning them into rags or other trivial items meant the babies who had worn them would grow up to be trivial or lowly persons. Therefore, when they were no longer worn they were mostly used as *haengju*, or dishcloths. In the words of wise and experienced elders, "*Haengju* make dirty things clean and associate with clean water only." When dishcloths became tattered and useless they were mostly burnt in the kitchen furnace. In households that took great care in such matters they were taken outside the house and burnt at dawn in a clean location. Great care was taken when washing or drying baenaetjeogori. They were never beaten too hard when they were washed or wrung out as it was thought this would startle the baby. They were dried in the daytime in a sunny and carefully selected "rightful" place.²⁹ They were never hung to dry at night out of the belief that an evil spirit would approach the baby and make it sick. When the child grew and there was no one in the house to wear the baenaetjeogori, it was never carelessly given away or loaned to anyone. People believed that when baenaetjeogori



Baenaetjeogori | Length: 28 cm, Chest: 26 cm, Hwajang: 33 cm |
Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea

were used for negative purposes such as warding off evil spirits or bad fortune (*aekmaegi*) that misfortune would come to the original wearer of the garment or that one's good fortune and luck would be transferred to the person who was given the garment.

Women used to make *baenaetjeogori* with their own hands but from the 1950s they started to buy ready-made ones available on the market.

29. Pleasant places, which excludes anywhere in front of a toilet or near a drain.

Choeui

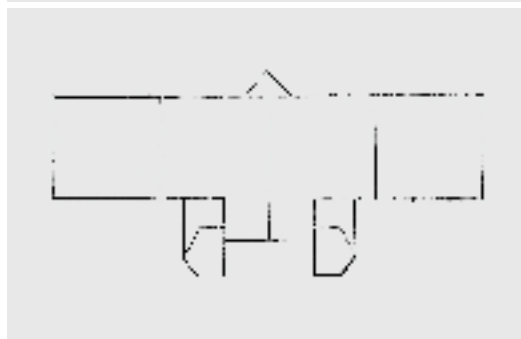
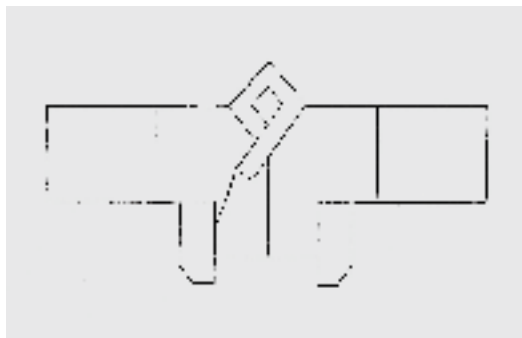
최의 衰衣

Upper garment worn by head mourner

Upper garment worn by the chief mourner at Confucian-style funeral rites held in traditional Korean society.

Choeui refers to the upper garment of mourning clothes. They are made based on the guides provided by the *Family Rites of Zhu Xi*. On the front chest of the top a piece of cloth called *choe* is attached. Here the word *choe* (衰) means, “to snap,” “to break,” “to suppress,” and thus represents the suppression of grief.³⁰ For this reason, coarse hemp cloth carrying such meaning is used to make the choeui.

The choeui is marked by differences according to the five types of mourning clothes. Unbleached tough hemp cloth is used to make *chamchoe* (斬衰), the dull color of such garments being similar to the complexion of the grieving mourner. *Jachoe* were made of the second



Pattern for new *choeui*, mourning garment | National Folk Museum of Korea



Choeui | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea

toughest hemp cloth *sima*. *Daegong* were made of slightly coarse unbleached hemp cloth to express the feelings of sadness and solemnity. *So-gong* were made with slightly smooth bleached hemp cloth to express the mourner's dispirited feelings. Since *sima* (總麻) was designed to express the grieving appearance of the mourners, it was made with extremely fine unbleached hemp cloth. As for the choeui below the level

of *daegong*, worn at funerals for those of a lesser degree of kinship, *jeok*, *bupan*, and *byeongnyeong* were not attached. The seams of the *chamchoeui* had to be sewn to be exposed, whereas the seams of *choeui* worn at funerals for those less than the kinship level of *jachoe* were folded to keep them out of sight.

30. *Five Rites of State*, a supplementary book of the *Annals of King Sejong*.

Dangui

당의 唐衣

Women's ceremonial upper garment

Long upper garment with open sides worn by women of the Joseon Dynasty on minor ceremonial occasions.

The dangui (Kor. 당의, Chin. 唐衣, lit. Tang clothing) is longer than the common upper garment (or jacket) called *jeogori* and has a rounded hem with open sides. The sleeve ends are trimmed with white bands that indicate it is a ceremonial garment. It was also called various other names, including *danggoui*, *danghansam*, and *dangjeoksam*.

In formality, dangui can be placed somewhere between everyday wear and ceremonial attire. At the palace it was worn on minor formal occasions, such as when paying respects to the queen dowager or other elders, or at *chinjamnye* (Kor. 친잠례, Chin. 親蠶禮, lit. silkworm rite) personally carried out by the queen. All women with titles inside the palace, including the queen, crown princess, concubines, and princesses, and senior court ladies and other women living and working inside the palace had many occasions to make formal greetings



Dangui | Photo of royal sericulture ceremony | 1911 | National Palace Museum of Korea

and hence the dangui was part of their everyday attire. Women of the royal family and wives of officials wore dangui when visiting the palace and girls from high-ranking families sometimes wore dangui for their coming-of-age ceremony or wedding.

The dangui was also worn by children. Photos remain of Princess Deokhye wearing one on her first birthday and of flower girls wearing dangui with colorful striped sleeves and rank badge on the chest at a wedding.

The colors, material, and decoration of dangui differed according to social status, the occasion concerned, or the season. In the palace, an official rank badge (*hyunghae*) or royal badge (*bu*) was sewn onto the chest of the dangui according to the wearer's position. Moreover, gold woven fabric was used or decoration added with gold leaf. However, most ordinary people rarely saw anyone dressed in dangui as it was a garment reserved for the upper class.

The most common color for dangui was green, though other colors such as crimson, pale green, white and blackish blue were also used. Each color has its own unique sense of season, including purple for the winter solstice, pale green for spring, and white for Dano (fifth day of the fifth month). The queen wore a purple dangui in winter and actual examples can only be found among the relics of queens and princesses. White dangui were worn in summer after Dano or as mourning wear for a state funeral. It appears that blackish-blue dangui were worn by low-ranking court ladies at important events such as a royal wedding and examples have been handed down.



Dangui worn by Gwanghaegun's consort | Early 17th century | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum



Dangui | Length: 89 cm, Hwajang: 48 cm | Late 18th century | Sookmyung Women's University Museum



Dangui decorated with a gold woven fabric with cloud and phoenix design worn by King Yeongchin's consort | Length: 78 cm, Chest: 59 cm, Hwajang: 69.8 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Dangui made of patterned silk gauze worn by Princess Deokhye | Length: 40 cm, Chest: 23.5 cm, Hwajang: 34 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea

Deunggeori

등거리

Loose outer garment

A light outer garment covering the back.

Made of hemp cloth or cotton this light outer garment has no sleeves or very short sleeves and no collar. Those made of hemp were worn in summer and those made of cotton in spring and autumn. In the broad sense, all kinds of vests such as the padded winter vest *baeja*, *ban-bi*, *dapo*, *kwaeja* and Western-style vests can all be counted as deunggeori. From the late Joseon Dynasty, a kind of summer vest made of woven wisteria vines called *deungdeunggeori* appeared.

It is guessed that the name deunggeori comes from the fact that it is a simple sleeveless garment basically worn over the back, or *deung*. It was worn by members of the lower classes when working in summer or when at home. It has been called by different names according to period.



Deunggeori | Length: 43.5 cm, Width: 31.5 cm | 1946 | National Folk Museum of Korea

Jeogori

저고리

Jacket-type upper garment

Upper garment worn by all Koreans, male and female, young and old.

The jeogori is a traditional Korean jacket-like upper garment that is shorter than the coats and robes called *po*. Evidence that it was worn from the Three Kingdoms period can be found in Goguryeo tomb murals, in the figurine of a young boy discovered in the Tomb of King Muryeong, and in sculptures of the Silla Kingdom. During the Three Kingdoms period there was no difference in the jeogori worn by men and women. It came down to the bottom in length, had a straight collar and was closed at the front with ties at the waist. Jeogori from the Three Kingdoms period are characterized by their narrow sleeves and a band of cloth of a different color at the end of the collar, sleeves, and bottom hem. The appearance of jeogori worn during the Goryeo Dynasty can be deduced from relics, including the *jungui* (long jeogori) from 1302 found enshrined in a Buddhist statue, now preserved at Onyang Folk Museum, and the jeogori found enshrined in a Buddhist statue at Haeinsa Temple in Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do Province. Also, the figure of a woman wearing a jeogori can be seen in the mural of the tomb of Park Ik (1332-1398) in Gobeop-ri, Miryang.

As to the name jeogori, during the Three Kingdoms period it was called *yu* (Chin. 襦, lit. jacket) or *wihae* (Chin. 尉解). The term *jeokgori* (遷奠儀) appears in literature for the first time in 1420 (second year of the reign of King

Sejong) in *Sejong sillok* (*Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*), which states that Queen Wongyeong (1365-1420) wore *jeogori* during *cheonjeonui* (final funeral rite) at a state funeral. Men's and women's jeogori are distinguished by their size, the shape of the collar, material, and color. The men's jeogori had the nature of an upper garment worn inside a coat and therefore changed little in shape, material or color. According to how it was made depending on the seasons, that is, whether it was lined, unlined or quilted, jeogori can be divided into several different types: *jeoksam* (unlined), *hansam*, jeogori, *gyeopjeogori* (lined), *somjeogori* (padded) and *nubijeogori* (quilted).

In the latter half of the 16th century, women's jeogori were divided into three types according to length. First is the long jeogori, about 70 to 80 cm long, with vents in both sides. This garment evolved into the *danggui* from the 17th century. Second is the mid-length jeogori, about 60-70 cm long with no side vents. Those made with luxurious fabric woven with gold-thread were called *gyeonmagi* (肩莫只). Third is the short jeogori, about 50 cm long with no side vents. If the long and mid-length versions served as outer garments, the short jeogori was the garment worn underneath them. It is thought this short jeogori changed to the jeogori commonly worn as an outer garment in the manner that we recognize today. Women's jeogori from the 16th century have a straight wide collar known as *mokpangit*, 10-12 cm wide. The chest is 60-70 cm wide and the length from the center back to the end of the sleeve (*hwajang*) is 70-100 cm, and the sleeves are straight from the armpit to the hems. Some jeogori have cuffs around 20 cm wide. The chest ties (*goruem*) are thin at around 2 cm wide and short at 25 cm in length. There are no inner ties.

The detachable collar band (*dongjeong*) is rather wide at 6 cm. Padded jeogori were made with rough paper interfacing.

From the 17th century women's jeogori with side vents disappeared and the only type remaining was the short jeogori around 50 cm long. The chest was 50-60 cm wide and the length from the center back to sleeve end 60-80 cm, making it shorter in body and sleeve length and narrower in the chest than 16th century versions. Aside from these differences the most notable change in the 17th century was the change in the collar. From around the 1620s, the collar grew narrower to around 10 cm and was turned up at the end (*dangkogit*). The *dongjeong* was 7.5 cm wide and started to become wider than the collar. Some jeogori had cuffs and *hoejang jeogori* were decorated with fabric of a different color on the collar, overlapping front panel (*seop*) and gyeonmagi. In this period jeogori had inner chest ties. Up until the 1960s, both collar types, the *mokpangit* and *mokpan dangkogit*, existed at the same time. From the 1960s the main collar type was the *mokpan dangkogit*, which was 9-11.5 cm wide and turned up at the end. If we compare the chest width with jeogori from the first half of the 17th century, they were almost exactly the same but the outside overlapping panel began to move 1-3 cm off center when compared to the center back. The length from the center back to sleeve end (*hwajang*) was 70-80 cm and a reinforcing band about 5 cm wide was attached to the inside of the sleeve end. Like the *dongjeong*, the detachable collar, these bands served to stop the hem from getting soiled. From the mid-17th century the jeogori grew increasingly fitted to the body.

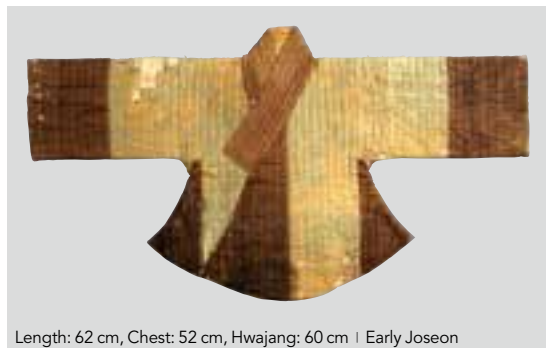
Going into the 18th century the jeogori grew shorter and the chest slimmer. An idea of

what an 18th century women's jeogori looked like can be gained from the examples excavated from the grave of Lady Kwon (1662-1722) from Andong, which are preserved at Gyeonggi Province Museum. Judging from these garments, jeogori from the first half of the 18th century were 36-46 cm long, 41-48 wide at the chest, 66-77 cm long from center back to sleeve end, with cuffs around 12 cm wide and collar 8.8-10.8 cm wide. Of the 16 jeogori found, one had turned-back cuffs and the other 15 had cuffs of a different color fabric. The collar was the *mokpan dankogit* type, turned up at the end, and the chest ties were short and thin. There are quilted, padded, and lined jeogori. The padded one is very thinly filled with cotton. The line of the outer panel has moved on all of them. Lady Kwon was dressed in these jeogori as part of her shroud in the order of *hansam*, *min jeogori*, *hoejang jeogori*, and finally jeogori with turned-back cuffs. As the outermost jacket, it is evident that the jeogori with cuffs was considered as ceremonial attire. These relics from the grave of Lady Kwon from Andong also indicate that at this time it was the custom to wear two jeogori on top of each other. The characteristics of mid-18th century jeogori can be seen in a relic that was enshrined in the wooden Amitabha statue (1748)³¹ at Baekdamsa Temple in Inje, Gangwon-do Province. The jeogori is 37.5 cm long, *hwajang* 75 cm, chest width 39 cm, and the turned up collar is 8.2 cm wide. The chest ties and detachable collar band had been removed so it not known what they looked like. If we compare 18th century jeogori with their 17th century counterparts, they had become shorter and slimmer and the sleeves narrower. The collar is turned up at the end and rolled over many times. The chest ties are short and thin. It is the kind of jeogori commonly seen in the genre

paintings of Hyewon Shin Yunbok (1758-?).

An example of women's jeogori of the first half of the 19th century are the adult's jackets found in the grave of Cheongyeon Gunju (1754-1821), daughter of Crown Prince Sado. They are 25-29.5 cm long, with *hwajang* 67-73 cm, chest width 34-44 cm, and a collar turned up at the end. The women's jeogori found in the Yi Yeonung (1818-1887) from the late 19th century is 21.5 cm in length, with *hwajang* 73 cm, and chest width 42 cm. The collar is rounded and turned up at the end, showing that the end of the collar was no longer cut straight but rounded. The width of the collar declined to 5 cm. In this period, jeogori continued to grow shorter and slimmer in the chest and sleeves.

In the 20th century the diverse names for the traditional upper garment were unified as jeogori. *Gyeotmagi* (*gyeonmagi*) in the 16th century was a type of jeogori, but in the 20th century became the name for a decorative part of the jacket. Around the 1900s, the length of the jacket grew very short to around 20 cm and ended above the chest line. The *jindong* (armpit area) narrowed to 16-19 cm, and the chest was revealed at times, which made it necessary to wear a band around the chest. The collar grew some 3 cm narrower and the chest ties were short and thin. The collar was rounded and turned up at the end. Going into the second half of the 1920s, the jeogori was 25-27 cm in length, a little longer than in the 1910s. The big change at this time was the disappearance of the collar with turned up end (*dangkogit*) and appearance of the rounded collar. Also, the *hoejang jeogori*, which was decorated at the collar, cuffs, and armpits with fabric of a different color, disappeared in favor of plain, undecorated jackets. However, the decorated jeogori was still worn as wedding attire. When traditional Korean attire,



Length: 62 cm, Chest: 52 cm, Hwajang: 60 cm | Early Joseon



Length: 48 cm, Chest: 46 cm, Hwajang: 70 cm | Mid-Joseon



Length: 34.5 cm, Chest: 40 cm, Hwajang: 74.5 cm | Late Joseon Dynasty



Length: 33 cm, Chest: 45 cm, Hwajang: 65.5 cm | Early 20th century

Jeogori (jacket) | National Folk Museum of Korea

hanbok, was selected as the uniform of a girls' school in the latter half of 1920, the form was simplified and the jeogori made longer. Compared to the 1920s, the 1930s version grew to 30-34 cm in length, the *jindong* was 19 cm, the width of the collar 4 cm, the chest ties 75 cm in length and 4-5 cm in width. In the 1940s the jeogori became longer than ever, reaching down to the waist. The *hwajang* became comparatively shorter and the collar, chest ties and *dongjeong* wider than they had ever been. Most of the jeogori were plain and unadorned but when they were decorated it was on the chest ties where a navy blue band was placed at the end of crimson ties. Jeogori worn as wedding attire had a deep red collar and bands at the hem while the chest ties were decorated with gold leaf designs. Sometimes a button or brooch was used instead of chest ties. In this period, artificial silk, which started to grow popular in the latter half of the 1930s, exploded in demand.

Compared to the 1940s, the jeogori of the

1950s was a little shorter and the sleeves a little wider and curved to form the so-called *bungeo baerae*, or carp-shaped inseam. This is when ready-made jeogori started to appear with a detachable white collar band (*dongjeong*) made stiff with a paper collar stay. Early 1960s jeogori maintained much the same form as the late 1950s garments. For political reasons, from the mid-1960s, people were encouraged to wear *hanbok* again and as people in high official positions wore traditional clothes as formal wear *hanbok* began to change. The jeogori grew shorter and the chest slimmer again, and with this the collar, chest ties and *dongjeong* all grew narrower as well. In those days soft fabric was used on the outside and interfacing was placed between the outside and the lining so that the jeogori consisted of three layers. The 1970s was when *hanbok* was transformed into formal wear. Under the New Community Movement (Saemaeul Undong) to modernize rural Korea, even people in the countryside began to wear

Western clothes for everyday wear and *hanbok* gradually became clothing reserved for special occasions. As the purpose of *hanbok* changed it was worn on national holidays, at end-of-year gatherings to thank college professors, at weddings, and when going to church, and became more decorative rather than practical. This is when the silhouette of *hanbok* most noticeably changed as the skirt grew longer the jacket grew comparatively shorter. The collar and chest ties also grew longer. The trend for *hanbok* as formal wear continued in the 1980s but the jeogori grew a little longer. This was the time jackets with the ends of the collar and chest ties decorated in cloth of a different color, called *hoejang jeogori*, were popular. Moreover, an interest in traditional *hanbok* led to the popularity of the ceremonial jacket called *dangui*. When silk gauze became popular in the latter half of the 1980s, the seams were sewn in such a way that they were not visible from the outside or inside. From the 1990s, active research began on excavated costume relics and *hanbok* shops flourished, bringing many changes to traditional Korean attire. The jeogori grew longer while the collar, front and back panels and *dongjeong* became wider. From the latter half of the 2000s, however, jeogori that looked exactly like the Joseon Dynasty versions appeared again. Influenced by television dramas and movies, women's jeogori that were short like those of the latter part of the 19th century with narrow, straight sleeves were popular. In the 2010s, the length of the jeogori grew longer to around 27 cm, and the collar grew wider and turned up at the end with a wide *dongjeong* and there was a trend for wider front and back panels as well.

The *dangkogit jeogori* is a jacket with a *dangkogit*, that is, a collar cut diagonally at the front so that the end seems to turn upward. It

is thought the name is connected to the Ming Dynasty. Ming clothing relics include women's jackets with a *mokpan dangkogit*, which is a collar with pointed nape and turned-up end. This kind of jacket collar appeared in Joseon Dynasty clothing from the 1620s, a variation made on the *mokpangit* of the 16th century by cutting the end of the collar diagonally. The *mokpan dangkogit* was maintained until the late 19th century, when the end of the collar became rounded. From the latter half of the 1920s the *dangkogit* disappeared and was replaced by the rounded collar called *dunggeuregit*. From around 2010, the collar became wider and the *mokpan dangkogit* became popular again.

The jeogori is a basic component of traditional Korean clothing and the name is terminology that is representative of the Korean people. A garment worn from the ancient Three Kingdoms period to modern times it has changed in form according to period. Worn by both men and women, jeogori go by a variety of names such as *minjeogori*, *hoejang jeogori*, *samhoejang jeogori* and the like according to material and decoration, and *hotjeogori*, *gyeopjeogori*, *nubi jeogori*, and *bagi jeogori* according to whether they are unlined, lined or quilted. *Kkaekki jeogori* are made with two layers of light, transparent fabrics such as silk gauze, organza and raw silk sewn together with blind hem stitching. Generally a summer garment, it is finely made with very thin, delicately sewn seams. The *gwandaegit jeogori* is a baby's jacket that was worn in Gyeongsangbuk-do Province. *Gwandaegit* refers to a collar that is slightly bent on the outside. There was a folk belief that if a *jeogori* with *gwandaegit* was worn by three generations of one family, the family would produce a successful candidate in the state civil service exams. So this type of jeogori was carefully washed and stored away

and taken out when needed to dress a member of the family. The *gwandaegit jeogori* in the collection of Andong National University Museum came from Gusan-ri, Hogyemyeon in Mungyeong. The shape of the collar is not so much like the round collar of the *dallyeong* robe worn by government officials but the collar on the *wonsam* ceremonial robe. *Hoejang jeogori* has a collar, cuffs, and armpits decorated in cloth of a different color to the main panels of the jacket. A record regarding this jacket is first seen in *Inmok wangbu binjeon dogam uigwe* (仁穆王后殯殿都監儀軌, state records of the directorate of the state funeral for Queen Inmok) from 1632. A *hoejang jeogori* was found inside the statue of a young monk dating to 1464, the King Sejo era, and the jacket has been designated National Folklore Cultural Heritage No. 219. In the 20th century, *hoejang jeogori* were divided into *banhoejang jeogori*, which have different color material on the collar, cuffs and chest ties, and *samhoejang jeogori*, which are a different color at the armpits.

31. Wooden Amitabha statue and enshrined deposits at Baekdamsa Temple in Inje, Gangwon-do Province. Treasure No. 1182. (Cultural Heritage Administration Portal Site <http://heritage.go.kr> 20200930)

Jeoksam

적삼
Inner jacket

Unlined *jeogori* worn either as the innermost undergarment or as an outer jacket in summer.

Hunmong jahoe (Kor. 훈몽자회, Chin. 訓蒙字會, Eng. Collection of Characters for Training the Unenlightened) defines the jeoksam as an un-



Jeoksam | Length: 39 cm, Chest: 50 cm, Hwajang: 68 cm | 1930s | National Folk Museum of Korea

lined upper garment which is either worn as the innermost undergarment or an ordinary unlined jacket. *Jaryu jubae* (Kor. 자류주해, Chin. 字類註解), a kind of dictionary, defined the jeoksam as being an unlined sweat garment smaller in size than the *jeogori*. It is made in the same form as the *jeogori*, but in some cases has no chest ties and is closed with buttons instead.

For summer wear, jeoksam are made of ramie and unlined, but in Hamgyeongnam-do Province *jeogori* were also called jeoksam. However, it is not known exactly when in the Joseon Dynasty it became a garment worn by men and women alike. When terminology came to be written down in Hangeul, it is thought jeoksam as well as *hansam* and *sama* all came to be called jeoksam.

On men's jeoksam from the Joseon period the shape of the gores (*mu*) are related to the shape of the collar, so in the case of a wide, straight collar (*mokpangit*) usually triangular or *samgaksomae* gores were used, and in the case of *kalgit* (pointed collar) there were usually no gores. The kinds of collars used on men's jeoksam include *mokpangit*, *kalgit* and the rounded *dunggeuregit*, while the gores are triangular or *samgaksomae* gores, or they are absent altogether. These days two kinds of jeoksam are worn, unlined ones worn as an undergarment and unlined jeoksam worn as a summer jacket.

Jeonbok

전복 戰服

Long vest

Long sleeveless vest-like topcoat worn over a military robe called *hyeopsu* during the late Joseon Dynasty.

The name jeonbok (Kor. 번복, Chin. 戰服) literally means “battle clothing.” When a distinction was made between military dress worn in battle (*yungbok*) and military uniform (*gunbok*) it became a garment under the uniform category. The jeonbok has many points of similarity with the *hyeopsu*, which was worn underneath. It has triangular gores under the armpit and a long vent in the back and short vents at the sides to enhance ease of movement. But while the *hyeopsu* has a straight collar, overlapping front panel (*seop*), and narrow sleeves, the jeonbok worn over it has no collar or *seop*, so there is no overlap when the garment is closed and it has no sleeves.

The jeonbok was worn over robes such as *hyeopsu* or *dongdari*. As there is no collar or *seop* the two sides of the front closure are symmetrical. Compared to the wide sleeves and skirt of the *cheollik*, which is the robe worn in battle, the robe of the military uniform had narrow sleeves and skirt but a vent at the back and sides to allow agile movement. The jeonbok was worn over a long-sleeved robe to enhance the dignity of appearance. Under costume reforms following the Gapsin Coup the jeonbok was worn not just as military uniform but was adopted for everyday wear as well as ceremonial attire for male adults and children alike.



Length: 128 cm, Chest: 47 cm | 19th century



Length: 52 cm, Chest: 36 cm | 20th century

Jeonbok (long vest) | National Folk Museum of Korea

Saekdongjeogori

색동저고리

Children's jacket with colorful striped sleeves

Children's jacket (*jeogori*) with sleeves made of cloth of five different colors (*saekdong*).

Saekdong jeogori is a jacket worn by children, exactly the same in form as an adult's jacket but with striped sleeves in five colors. The *jeogori* is the basic upper garment of traditional Korean attire (*hanbok*). It is composed of front and back panels (*gil*), sleeves (*somae*), overlapping front panel (*seop*), collar (*git*), removable white collar band (*dongjeong*), and chest ties (*goreum*). Slight changes were made over time. The male and female *jeogori* are basically the same with differences in length and size, color and material. The child's *jeogori* is almost exactly the same design as the adult version but in addition to the basic colors used for adult jackets such as white, jade and violet, children's jackets were also made in bright colors such as yellow, dark pink, and yellowish-green. Boys and girls jackets were distinguished from each other by using different colors for the collar and chest ties, navy blue tones for boys and red tones for girls. To make the saekdong jeogori even more luxurious the outside *seop* (overlapping front panel) was made with triangles of different colors joined together or decorated with small triangles of folded fabric joined together to make a raised pattern.

The *jeogori* is the most basic item of traditional Korean clothing with an overlapping opening at the front and a straight collar, the adult and child versions being almost the same. As the sleeves of the child's saekdong jeogori are striped in various colors it is more sumptuous than a jacket of one color and was therefore often worn on the baby's first birthday or on major holidays. But in upper class families it was also an everyday garment. Using five different colors on the sleeves and overlapping front panel made the child wearing the garment look cute and charming but also represented warding off evil and embodied wishes for the child to live a long, healthy and happy life. Based on



Saekdongjeogori, jacket with colorful striped sleeves |
Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea



Dressed up for Buddha's Birthday | Print by Elizabeth Keith |
Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea

records and extant examples it seems that from the 1900s saekdong jeogori were worn by boys and girls of all classes, including royalty, the nobility, and ordinary people. Today the saekdong jeogori is very often worn as part of the attire for a baby's first birthday.

Tosi

토시
Wristlets

Wristlets worn to keep warm in winter and cool in summer.

Tosi were used by people of all walks of life in Joseon to keep cool or warm. Tosi was expressed as *tosu* (吐手) or *tusu* (套袖) in Chinese characters. In *Yeoyudang jeonseo* (*Collected Works of Dasan Jeong Yak-yong*), it is recorded that *tusu* are called *tosu* since the sound of *tusu* in Chinese was wrongly transcribed.

Tosi can be divided into two types: one in which the lower part is narrow and grows wider toward the top, like the sleeves of *jeogori*; and one where the lower part takes the shape of a horse's hoof, covering the back of the hands (*majegubtosi*).

In documentary materials left by foreign visitors who came to Korea after Joseon opened its door to foreigners which record folk customs in the form of drawings, photos, and video, Koreans wearing tosi can be identified. British painter Elizabeth Keith made multi-colored woodcut prints featuring Korean children and women, and old men against a winter background. In the prints, the people wear wristlets, or muffs, made of fur or quilting. Swedish



Yageum mohaeng (Secret Night Trip) by Shin Yun-bok | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation

photographer Sten Bergman published *Durch Korea* in 1944 filled with pictures of the landscape and people of Joseon. In one of the photos, a merchant is seen holding in his hands *deunggeori* (vest) and tosi for summer. Such tosi gradually disappeared after the country opened its doors and shirts and gloves were imported to Korea.

Tosi for summer were made in a cylindrical shape to prevent the opening from becoming wet with sweat and to allow air to easily circulate. They were made of bamboo, rattan, horsehair, and whale bones. Unlined tosi were also made of fabrics such as ramie or silk gauze. Winter tosi were made of silk on the outside and lined with silk or cotton cloth. Cotton-stuffed lining

or lining with rabbit fur attached were also used to make winter tosi warmer. The openings at the lower part and the upper part were edged with black hems, which served practical and decorative purposes.



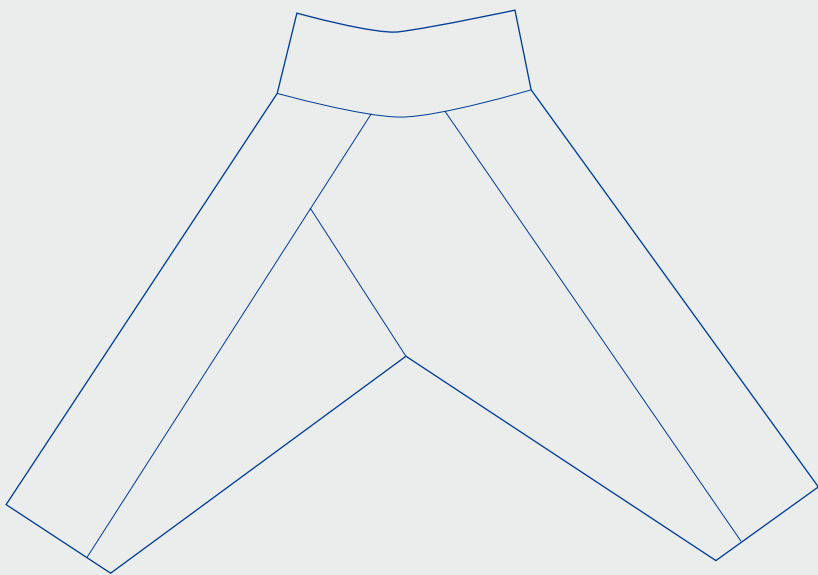
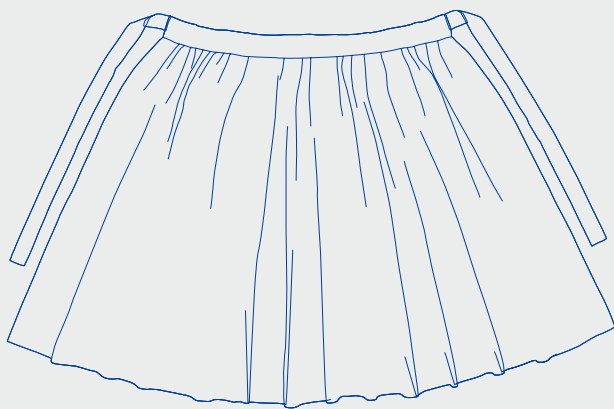
Tosi (Lined wristlets) | Length: 25 cm, Width: 14 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea



Tosi (Wristlets) | Length: 18 cm. Diameter: 11 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea

Lower garments

하의



Baji

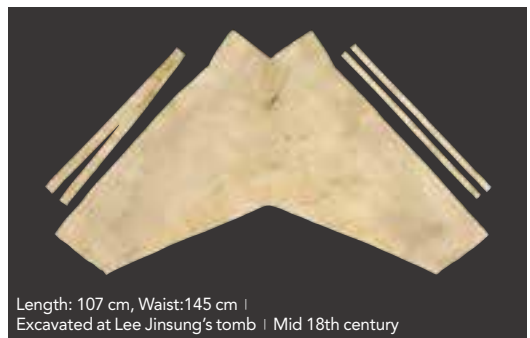
바지
Pants

Traditional pants, an outer lower garment with two legs.

Influenced by horse-riding peoples in the northern regions, baji were widely worn by men and women of all ages.

During the Joseon Dynasty, men's pants went through three stages of change by form and period. During the first stage spanning the early Joseon period to the Japanese Invasions of Korea (1592-98, Imjin waeran), baji looked like wide-leg drawers; during the second stage, before and after the invasions, a transitional form of pants were worn, a cross between wide-leg drawers and four-part pants (*sapok baji*), as confirmed by a variety of excavated examples; during the last stage, the post-war period, four-part pants were frequently worn and they were almost identical to the pants worn today. However, after the war, both the transitional form of pants and four-part pants seem to have been worn, as evidenced by excavated examples. Therefore, it is hard to draw a clear line between periods.

Based on excavated relics, the features of men's baji can be summed up as follows. Among extant wide-leg undergarment style pants worn by Byeon Su (邊隋, 1447-1524), a high-ranking government official of Joseon, one pair consists of two sets of pants sewn onto a single waist band. These padded pants are the *gaedanggo* type, which have an opening between the legs and a triangular *mu*.³² At the waistline, there are four pleats in the center of each of the four



Baji | National Folk Museum of Korea

sections, the left and right sides and the front and back. The legs are wide. The outer and inner fabrics are coarse silk. A total of six pairs of trousers in the style of wide-leg underpants worn by Choe Gyeong-seon (崔景璿, 1561-1622) have been discovered. Among them,

three of the *gaedanggo* type pants taper slightly toward the bottom hem, and the other three are of the *hapdanggo* type,³³ which are closed at the crotch, with wide legs. These pants were made of cotton, *ju* (raw silk), and hemp cloth and comprise four pairs of single-layer (unlined) pants, one pair of padded pants, and one pair of double-layered (lined) pants. The *gaedanggo* pants were worn over the *hapdanggo* pants.

Five pairs of four-part pants worn by Yi Jin-sung (李鎭嵩, 1702-1756) were discovered, four pairs of which served as coffin cushioning items called *bogong*,³⁴ which were made of raw silk and lined and quilted. The fabrics were quilted without cotton, which is a distinct feature of these pants. Some parts were quilted at narrow intervals of 1-1.2 cm and others at wider intervals of 5.5 cm. The trousers worn by Yi were made of raw silk and two pairs of pants (lined outer pants and unlined pants) were sewn together onto a single waistband.

In the coffin of Sin Gwang-heon (申光憲, 1731-1784) three pairs of four-part pants were found on the body. A pair of lined pants was worn over an unlined pair and puttees around the lower leg. Sin Gwang-heon's pants are rare examples with waistband and ankle bands (*daenim*) intact, all of which were made of raw silk. The waistband measures 200 cm in length and the ankle bands 65 cm.

32. *Mu* refers to a gore attached to the areas where frequent body movements are made or where openings are made in *hanbok*, which are cut flat, designed to increase the ease of movement and wearability.

33. Pants that have no opening in the bottom where the front and back pieces are sewn together.

34. Materials placed in a coffin to prevent the corpse from moving. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*).

Chima

치마

Skirt

Skirt worn as a lower garment.

Chima, or skirt, is the outermost garment of women's lower garments. Although chima can be written as *gun* (裙) or *sang* (裳) in Chinese characters, literature from the Joseon period recorded the traditional skirt as *jeongma* (赤丁), following the sound of the word in Korean. A reference to *jeongma* first appeared in the record "Empress Wonggyeong's Cheonjeongui [rite of relocating the coffin to the burial site]" from the ninth month of 1420 (2nd year of the reign of King Sejong) in *Sejongillok* (*Annals of King Sejong*).

The traditional skirt chima is composed of two parts: band wrapped around the chest or waist and the cloth covering the lower body. A wide white band wrapped around the body is referred to as *chimaheori* (skirt + waist) and is connected to the skirt. The desired width of the skirt was obtained by joining as many *pok* (widths) of fabric as desired; then pleats were made at the top, which was sewn onto the waistband. Ceremonial skirts were longer and wider than those worn daily. Different fabrics and colors were used to make the traditional skirt depending on age, usage, or the tastes of the wearer.

Today the skirts are generally lined, but during the Joseon period diverse types of skirts were worn according to season and purpose. Fabrics used, sewing methods, and ways of handling skirts differed according to season. In summer unlined skirts were mostly worn

and among them, the one that was spread on a wooden board and dried in the sun after starching, without ironing or fulling, was called *jaengchima*. Here *jaeng* is a shortened form of *jaeyang* (載陽), which means sewing the skirt placed on the *jaeyangteul* (frame under the sun) or spreading it onto the *jaeyangpan* (board under the sun). The act of placing the clothes under the sun in this way was referred to as *jaengchinda*.

In the cold winter cotton-padded or quilted skirts were widely worn but these disappeared in the latter half of the 19th century, when unlined or lined skirts became popular among women. Lined skirts made of two layers of fabric were worn almost throughout the year and mostly as part of ceremonial attire. However, unlined skirts made of a single layer of fabric were also worn at ceremonial events. Different colored borders were used on the edges of the skirt including lines on the right and left sides and the hemline, and skirts with such contrasting borders were called *seondanchima*, meaning a skirt with a border.

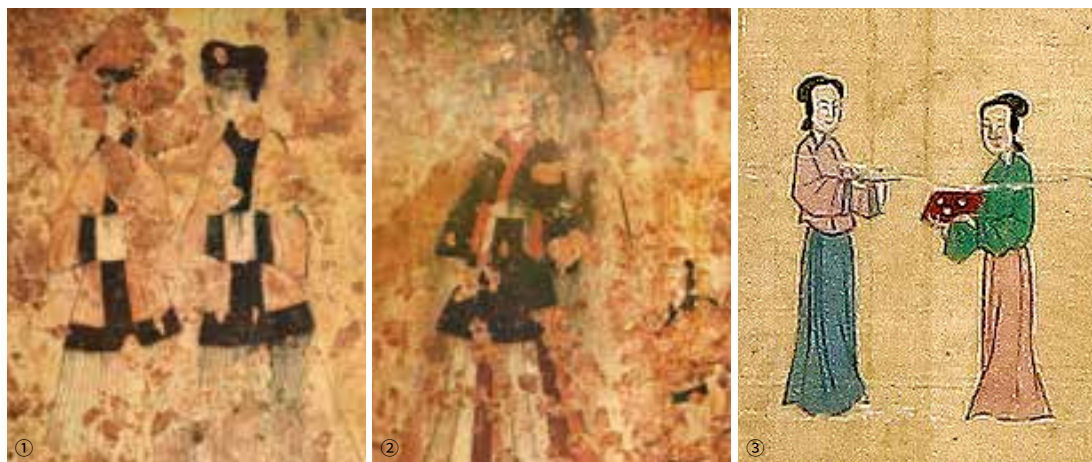
Skirts decorated with gold leaf worn for

ceremonial purposes are called *seuranchima*. The word *seuran* was derived from *seullan* (Kor. 슬란, Chin. 膝欄, lit. knee), and the *seuranchima* originated from a skirt decorated with a gold woven fabric band called *jikgeum* placed around the knee area. When a skirt had two gold bands of this type, the one at the knees was wider than the one at the hem of the skirt. However, going into the late Joseon Dynasty, gold leaf became more popular than *jikgeum*, resulting in a change in the way the decorative band (*seurandan*) was made. A separate strip of fabric was prepared and attached to the skirt. A skirt with two such bands is called *daeranchima*, characterized by a wider decorative band at the knees than at the hem, like *jikgeumchima*. Skirts with *seurandan* were mostly worn by high ranking women living both inside and outside the palace. In particular, *daeranchima* were reserved for the queen's use only.

Meanwhile, among court clothes, there are skirts for ceremonial purposes, including over-skirts called *utchima* and *jeonhaengutchima*, a skirt worn over *daeranchima*. *Uutchima* are shorter



Royal women wearing traditional jacket and skirt | Early 1900s



Chima (Skirt) | ① Ssangyongchong ② Susanri Ancient Tomb ③ Detail of Picture of Seven Government Officials Praying for Longevity of Their Old Parents | 17th century | Busan Municipal Museum

and narrower compared to other skirts, but they are decorated with a gold leaf band at knee level. Images of female dancers wearing the *utchima* in court dance performances can be seen in court documentary paintings. The *jeonhaengutchima* was worn as wedding attire by royal women such as the queen or the queen dowager. Three pleated skirt panels were connected to the skirt waistband. Two panels, one on the left side and the other on the right at the back when the skirt was worn, were long enough to drag on the floor. The front panel came down to touch the floor. The *jeonhaengutchima* was decorated with a pattern band decorated with gold leaf at the hem.

In contrast, commoners wore relatively short and narrow skirts, which were called *duruchigi*. These skirts were short to make walking easy and thus sometimes exposed the underclothes at the ankle area. The women of Joseon, regardless of social status, used to wear white aprons called *haengjuchima* when working. The apron was wrapped around the waist and did not need to overlap at the back, hence it was narrow in width and very short, coming to more than 20 cm from the floor. The *haengjuchima* was most-

ly made of cotton or hemp cloth, but women of high birth sometimes wore aprons made of ramie cloth. In addition, *sseugaechima*, which were used to cover a woman's face when she went outdoors, were also narrow.

Skirts were widely worn by children, regardless of sex. Called *dureongchima*, children's skirts were designed to cover their body parts and were sometimes made of quilted cloth.

Skirts were made in different colors depending on age. In the early half of the Joseon Dynasty, a variety of colors were used and yellow skirts were widely worn. However, going into the latter half, color choices were simplified so that blue and red were mostly worn. Red skirts were mostly worn by unmarried or newly married women, while blue skirts were worn by relatively older women who wore them daily as well as for important events and holidays. Pale blue-green skirts were worn for ancestral rites and ordinary days and were popular among aged women especially for summer wear. Royal women often wore purple skirts. White skirts were widely worn in summer, regardless of rank, while black skirts were avoided by most royal

women. Unlike royal women, ordinary women wore black skirts while working to prevent staining. It is said that in some areas of Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province, black skirts were included in the wedding articles prepared by brides (*honsu*) and were used while working in the kitchen.

Traditional skirts were worn with multiple layers of underwear to produce a voluminous silhouette, but underskirts (petticoats) were rarely worn except on special occasions. Underskirts include *daesyumchima* and *mujigichima*, which were worn by women at court or upper-class women only for ceremonial purposes, not for daily use.

Traditional skirts were worn wrapped around the waist, which made it free from size limitations. To make a skirt the cloth was cut out into a rectangle, and fabric cut and sewn this way could be used for blankets or bedding.

Choesang

최상 衰裳

Lower garment for mourning attire

A lower garment worn by the chief mourner at a Confucian style funeral.

It can be inferred from the saying “No guest shall be met without wearing *choebok*” found in *Confucius’ Family Teachings* (孔子家語) that mourning clothes were worn by the Chinese people even before the common era. “Barbarians of the East” in the “History of Wei” from *Record of the Three Kingdoms* says that “white mourning dress is worn.” However, since no image of the white mourning clothes is provided, it is hard

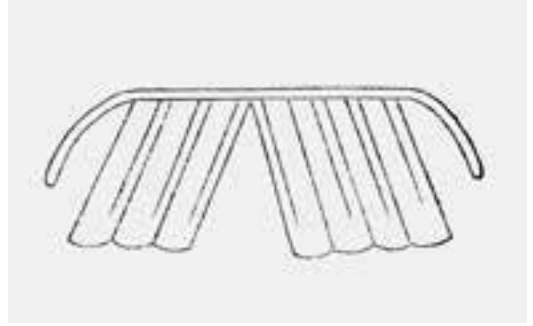


Illustration of *choesang* (mourning garment) in *Sarye pyeollam* | National Folk Museum of Korea



Choesang, mourning garment | Length: 69.5 cm. Waist: 90 cm | 1941 | National Folk Museum of Korea

to know what this mourning dress looked like exactly. The Goryeo Dynasty introduced Confucian institutions from China and established five types of mourning clothes in 985 (4th year of the reign of King Seongjong); later in 1290 (16th year of the reign of King Chungnyeol) *Family Rites of Zhu Xi* (1130-1200) was introduced along with Neo-Confucianism. The four rites—coming of age, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites—influenced by Neo-Confucianism were followed but failed to gain ground among the general populace. King Gongyang ordered the five-type mourning clothes system to be amended in 1391 (3rd year of reign) and the following year abolished observance of the three-year mourning period for deceased parents by children who were civil or military officials and narrowed the scope of the practice.

Entering the Joseon period, all family rites were conducted in Confucian style based on the *Family Rites of Zhu Xi*, as evidenced by *Gyeongguk daejeon* (*Grand Code of State Administration*) and *Gukjo oryeui* (*Five Rites of State*). As a result, the cultural tradition of family rites in Korea was established in Confucian style. In addition, funeral rites were also conducted according to Confucian principles; the three-year mourning practice was widely observed, and *choeui* and *choesang* (Kor. 최상, Chin. 衰裳, lit. lower mourning garment) became standard mourning dress. *Sarye pyeollam* (*Easy Manual for the Four Rites*) compiled by Doam Yi Jae (1680-1746) in 1844 says that the mourning clothes defined by *Family Rites of Zhu Xi* do not cover the overlapping front panel of the upper garment and proposes a new type of mourning dress, which demonstrates Confucian style family rites were highly developed in Korea.

In *Family Rites of Zhu Xi* the mourning clothes worn at Confucian-style funerals were called *choebok* but were not described more specifically. In *Sarye pyeollam*, however, the upper garment was called *choeui* and the lower garment *choesang*. Mourning dress was divided into five types as defined by *obokjedo* (system of five types of mourning clothes) depending on the degree of kinship with the dead. These five types comprise *jeongbok*, *uibok*, *gangbok*, *janggi* and *bujanggi*. In addition, the length of the period for wearing mourning clothes was stipulated, the thickness of the hemp's ply varied based on the degree of mourning and different types of mourning dress worn; whether *choe* (cloth strip attached in front of the top), *bupan* (a long strip of hemp cloth attached to the back), and *jeok* had to be attached was determined depending on relations on the maternal and paternal sides. In this way, a very complex system was

applied to the mourning clothes worn at Confucian-style funeral rites.

The quality of the fabric used to make *choesang* differed depending on the degree of kinship with the deceased. Hemp cloth was mostly used and the thickness differed under the system of five types of mourning clothes. In the order of *chamchoe*, *jaechoe*, *sima*, *daegong*, and *sogong*, *choesang* were made with cloth of varied quality, from unbeached hemp cloth to extremely fine, smooth hemp cloth.

Dureongchima

두렁치마

Baby's stomach covering

Skirt-like garment wrapped around a child's stomach and lower body.

To protect a child from cold weather the *dureongchima* was wrapped around the body just above the stomach. In form, it was similar to an adult's skirt (*chima*) but did not overlap at the back. It was worn by both boys and girls until they started to crawl but in the case of older children it was usually worn only by girls. The *dureongchima* basically functioned as a kind of blanket for babies who spent their time lying down and when they started to walk it became



Dureongchima | Length: 40 cm | 1880s | Dankook University
Seokjuseon Memorial Museum

a functional garment that allowed them to relieve themselves in comfort.

The function of keeping the baby's stomach warm was very important so the dureongchima was usually lined or padded with cotton and quilted. It generally took the form of a skirt with waistband.

The dureongchima was mostly worn by children from newborns to four or five years old. Newborn babies were first dressed in the baby's upper garment *baenaetjeogori* and the dureongchima was worn on top of it. Choe Munseon, in his book *Joseon sangsik mundap* (questions and answers on general knowledge of Joseon), said that "two times seven days is called *dunilhae*, and this is when the baby is dressed in a garment with collar and *dureongi*. When the baby reaches three times seven days, that is when the baby was dressed in *guyang* clothes with a *jeogori* on top and pants on bottom." This tells us that babies were dressed in dureongchima around 14 days after birth. It was made of cotton or unbleached cotton and sometimes silk, and as a garment that had to be washed often it was generally white. But extant examples show that a pink line was sometimes placed around the hem or the whole garment itself was dyed a dark indigo color.



Haengjeon, puttees, worn by King Yeongchin | Length: 22.8 cm, Width: 19.6 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Haengsang (Peddler) by Kim Hongdo | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Museum of Korea

Haengjeon

행전 行纏

Cloth leggings like puttees

Cloth leggings wrapped around the legs from the shin to just below the knees to make the pant legs narrower for ease of walking and movement.

Haengjeon (Kor. 행전, Chin. 行纏, lit. walking wrapped around) are cloth leggings like puttees that were wrapped around the legs from the shin to just below the knees to make the legs of the pants narrower for ease of walking and movement. From the Joseon Dynasty onwards when men wore pants with very wide legs, pieces of cloth were wrapped around the legs from the feet to the knees. This would have been very uncomfortable, however. So like *tosi* for the sleeves, haengjeon were made to go

around the lower leg from the shin to the knees with the straps tied just below the knees. *Yeon-haengnok seonjip* (Kor. 연행록선집, Chin. 燕行錄選集, Eng. Envoy Records from Beijing During the Qing Dynasty), “Four pieces of cloth are worn on the two legs, and these are the same as haengjeon in our country.” *Haehaeng chongjae* (Kor. 해행총재, Chin. 海行摠載, Eng. Travelogue of Japan in Goryeo and Joseon) says, “The servant leading the horse was wearing cotton clothing and haengjeon.” During the Joseon Dynasty everyone wore cloth haengjeon with mourning clothes, made in the same form as ordinary haengjeon.

Haengjeon were worn by all men regardless of social status. They were generally made of unbleached cotton or calico. When worn by persons of special status or during rites it seems the haengjeon were made of ramie, cotton or hemp. The *yangban* (nobility) especially always wore haengjeon when outside the home and dressed in formal attire.

Haengjuchima

행주치마

Apron

Apron that women wore over the skirt when working to prevent their skirt from getting dirty.

From the distant past to the present, the haengjuchima, or apron, is the most basic and essential women's work garment. The apron was worn over the skirt when dressed in traditional jacket and skirt and the jacket sleeves were rolled up; this constituted the basic women's workwear. The apron also helped to keep the clothing tidy



Women wearing aprons in *Jeongbyeon yehwa* (Night Stories by the Well) by Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation

and the front of the skirt clean. The elderly often called the apron *haenggichima* or *haenggichoma*. In the past, aprons formed a large part of a women's marriage articles (*honsu*).

The origin of the word haengjuchima is known to be related to a battle at Haengju during the Japanese invasions (1652-98). At the battle of Haengju Fortress in 1593 led by General Gwon Yul, the women and children inside the fortress carried rocks in their skirts to the soldiers who used them to fight the Japanese, leading to great victory. It is said the haengjuchima was so named to honor the contribution of the women in the battle. However, a similar name appears in a record dating to 1517. Another theory as to the origin of the word is that *haengju* refers to a cloth used to wipe or wash dishes and as the apron was used for this purpose also it was named haengjuchima.

The apron was useful for wiping the hands or preventing the skirt from getting dirty. It was also handy for when the skirt was cumbersome. Also, in cold weather the hands were tucked inside the waistband to warm them. When the long skirt got in the way when walking or work-

ing, to make it less cumbersome the skirt was hitched up before the apron was tied around it. But when an elder person appeared while working with an apron on, the apron had to be taken off.

The haengiuchima is shorter than the regular skirt and about half the width so that it does not cover the back and is tied at the waist. A woman wearing a white apron gave the impression of being clean and diligent. Though originally worn over the skirt only, it was later worn over baggy pants.

The apron was essentially white, made of fabrics such as unbleached cotton, calico, thick ramie, hemp, Chinese cotton (*dangmok*), and *mogasa*. It was generally made with two widths of cloth, each around 70 cm wide. When using ramie or hemp, four to five widths were sewn together. Pleats were made at the waist and the skirt was made wide enough to wrap around two thirds of the waist. A waistband was attached with straps at each end. In length it was shorter than the skirt and about half as wide. Care was taken to make sure that it did not go around the back.

In winter they were also worn for protection from the cold. Horses were the major means of transportation during the Joseon period but it was often dangerous and falls were common so hoseul were worn to protect the body.

The knee pads were made of silk or leather padded with fur or cotton. Records say they were embroidered and it can be presumed that they were highly decorative.

Most records regarding hoseul state that the knee pads were given as gifts to both Joseon envoys and Ming Dynasty envoys from China. Some records state that they were given as gifts by the royal family.

As protective pads for the knees they were necessary when men took long journeys on horseback. Horses were the major means of transportation during the Joseon Dynasty but riding horseback was often dangerous and falls were common so hoseul were worn to protect the body. Records of hoseul appear from late Goryeo and throughout Joseon but there is only one extant relic, and in China only a number of Yuan Dynasty relics remain. As children and some athletes wear protective knee pads even today, some historical perception of hoseul is necessary.

Hoseul

호슬 護膝
Knee pads

Protective pads worn on the knees by men of the royal family and ruling class.

Hoseul (Kor. 호슬, Chin. 護膝, lit. knee protector) were worn as protective pads on the knees by men from the late Goryeo to Joseon period when they took long journeys on horseback.

Jambangi

잠방이
Unlined short trousers

Short, unlined pants with a low crotch coming down to the knees.

Jambangi were called *gonui* (Kor. 곤의, Chin. 禪衣) in the Chinese-character transcription. The



Gyeongdap (Raking the Fields) by Kim Hongdo | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Museum of Korea

basic form of pants worn in Korea from ancient times were *go* (袴) and *gon* (禪). *Gon* refers to jambangi, records of which can be found in the “Baekje” chapter in the *Book of Liang* (*Liang shu*) and *History of the Southern Dynasties* (*Nan-shi*). In the Goryeo Dynasty a reference to *gon* is found in the poem *Duanryeobunchaek sincha dokbigon* written by Yi Gyubo. In the poem, *dokbigon* refers to *soekojambangi* (farming pants) and it was known that Yi Gyubo himself wore such pants at home. Jambangi were called by different names depending on region and shape, including *sabaljambangi*, *sabalgoui*, *sabalseokbangi*, and *soekojambangi*.

Jambangi have narrower and shorter legs than ordinary pants (*baji*). Since the crotch came down to the knees or slightly below the knees, jambangi were regarded as comfortable wear or work clothes. They were usually made with coarse hemp or cotton cloth.

Jeonhaengutchima

전행웃치마

Royal women's ceremonial overskirt

A three-panel skirt worn over the ceremonial robes *jeogui* and *wonsam* by women of the royal court (queen, crown princess, royal granddaughter) of the Joseon Dynasty and the imperial court of the Korean Empire (empress, crown princess, concubines).

The jeonhaengutchima is a navy blue overskirt composed of three *pok* (widths of cloth) at the front and four at the back. To make it easier to wear, the four widths at the back are joined into two halves, each measuring two *pok*, so that the skirt has two panels at the back and one in the front. All three panels are attached to the same waistband, and the back panels are longer than the front panels. A decorative band



Jeonhaengutchima, a ceremonial overskirt, with auspicious designs worn by King Yeongchin's consort | Length: 142 cm, Waistband 95 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea

(*seurandan*) is placed at knee level and at the hem and the whole skirt is pleated from top to bottom.

When the *jeonhaengutchima* is worn, it is folded up so that it falls over the pattern band (*seurandan*) on the skirt worn underneath (*daeranchima*). Because of the full, wide skirt underneath, the back panels of the *jeonhaengutchima* fall long to the left and right below the waistband.

In texts such as *Sangbang jeongnye* (Kor. 상방정례, Chin. 尙方定例, Eng. Regulations for the Bureau of Royal Attire) and *Garye dogam uigwe* (Kor. 가례도감의궤, Chin. 嘉禮都監儀軌, Eng. Records of the Directorate for Royal Ceremonies) it is recorded as being made of navy blue fabric on the outside with white lining and pink straps on the waistband. But the relic left by the consort of King Yeongchin has white straps on the waistband. Moreover, court records called *balgi* note the color of the skirt as variations of navy blue (*nam*, *ilnam*).



Picture of a woman wearing *jeonhaengutchima*, a ceremonial overskirt | National Palace Museum of Korea

Pungchabaji

풍차바지

Children's pants with flap

Children's pants that are open at the back and have a wind-protection panel (*pungcha*) covering the bottom.

Pungchabaji are pants worn by children that are open at the back and have a panel called *pungcha* (Kor. 풍차, Chin. 風遮, lit. wind cover) covering the bottom to block wind. The word *pungcha* is generally used to refer to a winter hat worn to block the cold but it is also used to mean the two long pieces of cloth attached to the left and right back panels of children's pants.

Pungchabaji were worn by both boys and girls, mainly as a functional garment. The back of the pants was open, which made it easy to change diapers and to train children to use the toilet without taking their pants off. There was no particular age at which these pants were worn and differences were found depending on region and household customs. Children who had not yet passed their first birthday wore white pants with the distinction between boys and girls made by the color of the ankle bands (*daenim*). The ankle bands were sewn onto the pants, unlike the ankle bands on adult pants, for convenience and to prevent children from losing them.

Very similar to *pungchabaji* are *gaegumeongbaji* (lit. dog hole pants). They were in the same form as the pants worn by girls under their skirts or their drawers. To make it easy to urinate the pants had a crescent-shaped opening in the center. To prevent the pants from slipping down they often had a bodice attached.

It is not known exactly when *pungchabaji* appeared as a children's garment. However, the book *Damheonseo* (Kor. 담헌서, Chin. 湛軒書) by the latter Joseon *silhak* (practical learning) scholar Hong Daeyong contains the following description of Chinese men's pants worn in the Qing Dynasty: "The pants are so narrow that the thighs barely fit into them and they are open under the waist, much like children's pants worn in our country. But buttons are attached on either side to make it easy to do one's business." This indicates that in the 18th century, Korean children wore pants that were open at the bottom.

The pants were made in many different colors such as white, jade, pink, light purple, and light grey and the material differed according to the seasons. Cotton fabrics such as plain cotton and calico were used as well as silk. Winter pants were thinly padded or quilted. Among *pungchabaji* relics are some made with ramie on both the inside and outside.



Pungchabaji, children's pants with opening at the back | Length: 49 cm, Width: 66 cm | 1960s | National Folk Museum of Korea

Seuranchima

스란치마

Long ceremonial skirt with decorative band

Skirt with a decorative band called *seurandan* at the bottom, worn by women and girls of the palace or upper class homes.

Women's skirts of the Joseon Dynasty can be divided into those for ceremonial attire and those for everyday wear. The *seuranchima* is a skirt for ceremonial attire worn by women of the palace or the upper class on such occasions as coming-of-age, weddings, auspicious ceremonies (*gillye*), and national holidays. It was worn with a ceremonial upper garment such as *jeogui*, *wonsam* or *dangui*.

The *seuranchima* was longer and wider than the ordinary skirt and a decorative band called *seurandan* was arranged at knee height and at the very bottom. The designs on the decorative band were woven with gold thread or stamped with gold leaf directly onto the skirt, or a separate band decorated with gold leaf was attached to the hem. In the early form, the designs— young boys, phoenix and kylin, phoenix, and flowers and birds – were woven into the skirt with gold thread. Towards the late Joseon Dynasty designs such as dragons, phoenixes, and symbols of longevity and good fortune were applied onto the skirt in gold leaf.

Though the *seuranchima* was a ceremonial skirt mainly worn by women of the palace and high-ranking families, in ordinary homes it was worn as wedding attire. In *Geoga japbokgo* (居家雜服攷), a history of Korean clothing written by Park Gyusu (1807-1877) in 1841 (7th year of the reign of King Heonjong), it says that among

the garments used to dress up for a wedding was the seuranchima (膝欄裙, lit. knee robe skirt), which was so-called because it was shorter than the skirt worn underneath, coming just below the knees.

The seuranchima, however, was actually longer and fuller than the ordinary skirt. When made for ceremonial wear it was in the form of *geodeulchima*, a skirt whose length could be adjusted at the waist, or was worn in two layers with the longer inner layer raised to suit the height of the wearer. *Sunhwagung cheopcho* (順和宮帖草), a book written by Gyeongbin Kim, concubine of King Heonjong, gives insight into the rules governing the attire of women of the palace during the Joseon Dynasty. It mentions wearing another skirt called *seuranutchima* over the seuranchima. Also, a record regarding the rites conducted by the wife of Prince Uihwagun mentions a red seuranchima and a navy blue *seuranutchima*, which confirms that the ceremonial skirt was also worn in two layers. When palace women wore seuranchima for minor ceremonial occasions, the skirt took the form of *daeranchima*, which means a skirt with one decorative band at the knees and one at the bottom. For major ceremonial occasions, they wore two skirts layered as described above.

During the Korean Empire period, the designs on the decorative band on the skirt differed according to rank. The skirt worn by the empress was decorated with a dragon design, the skirt of the crown princess with a phoenix design, and the skirt of the princesses with a flower design. Women from upper-class families could not use dragon or phoenix designs, but like the princesses they wore skirts decorated with flowers in gold leaf symbolizing longevity and good fortune.



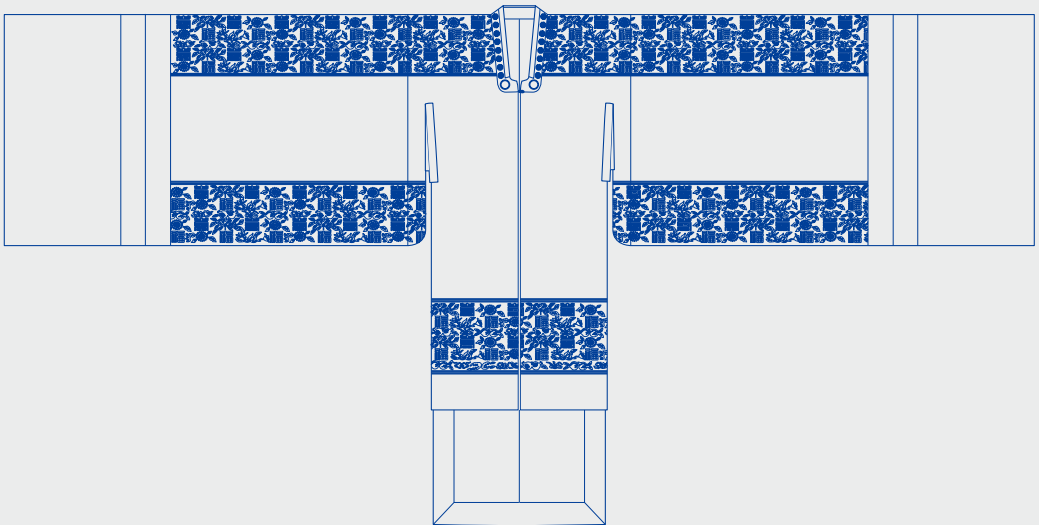
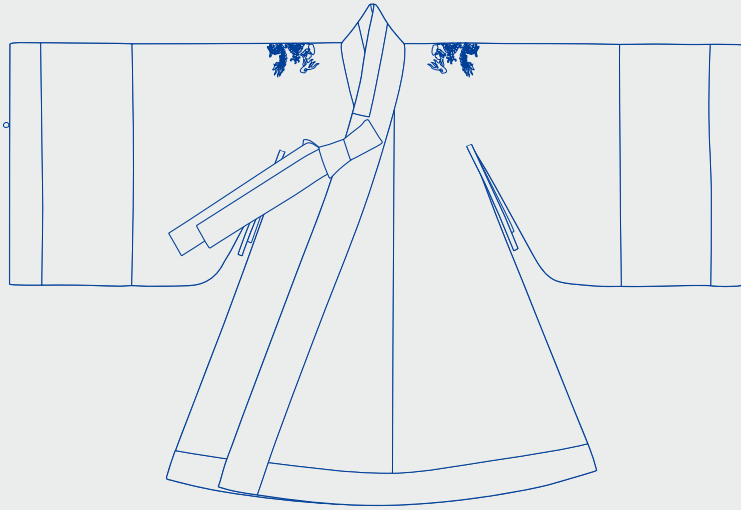
Daeranchima, ceremonial skirt with two pattern bands worn by the queen | Length: 108 cm, Waist: 112 cm | Excavated from the Tomb of Ki from Haengju | 17th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Seuranchima, ceremonial skirt with one pattern band worn by King Yeongchin's consort | Length: 133 cm, Waistband: 107 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea

Outer garments

겉옷



Aekjureumpo

액주름포 腋注音袍

Men's everyday robe with side pleats

Po (robe or coat) with pleats under the arms, which was worn daily by men during the Joseon Dynasty.

In *aekjueum*, *ae* (腋) indicates the armpit and *jueum* is the Chinese-character transcription for the Korean word *jureum*, meaning pleats. Aekjureumpo, therefore, means a garment with pleats under both armpits. Worn by people from all walks of life from the king to the commoner, it was temporarily in fashion during the early and mid-Joseon period and then gradually disappeared. It had pleats under the armpits and a straight collar. Although examples of the aekjureumpo from early Joseon have been excavated, the number falls drastically from around the Japanese invasions of Korea in 1592 (Imjin waeran). With the nation facing economic difficulties and social instability in the midst of war, the use of *cheollik*³⁵ (robe with pleated skirt) became more popular among Koreans, and with the emergence of the *silhak* (practical learning)



Aekjureumpo, pleated robe | Length: 104 cm, Chest: 66 cm, Hwajang: 99 cm | Late 16th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

school of thought outer robes such as *dopo*, *changui*, and *simui* were widely worn.

35. Outer robe with top and the bottom made separately and joined at the waist. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

Changui

창의 裳衣

Everyday robe with back vent worn by royalty and scholar-officials

Everyday *po* (robe or coat) worn by the royal family and the upper classes with a straight collar, wide sleeves, long triangular shaped gores on both sides and a vent in the center of the back panel.

The changui was an everyday robe for royalty and members of the ruling classes who wore it under their official uniform. It looks like the *durumagi* with its wide sleeves but has a vent in the middle of the back panel. It is also similar to the *dopo* without the extra back panel.

Jo Jaesam (1808-1866) explained the origin of changui in his book *Songnam japji* (*Songnam's Encyclopedia*), saying that it was made by removing the extra back panel from the *dopo* after the Japanese invasions (1592-98). Some intellectuals had argued that the Manchu War of 1636 broke out because the energy of the north weakened due to the back vent on the *dopo*. In addition, in *Juyeongpyeon* (*Jeong Dongyu's Light Essays*) Jeong Dongyu (1744-1808) wrote that since changui was based on a military uniform to which a back vent was added, changui made horse riding more comfortable. It was worn under the *dallyeong*, which has side vents, to

prevent the underwear from being exposed.

Changui began to be worn in place of *yungbok*, a military uniform, by the ruling class and military officials of Joseon, and *janguui* made of silk gained broad popularity as the changui continued to be worn under official attire. Saheonbu issued a ban on wearing silk *janguui* by the royal family, royal relatives by marriage, and *dangsangwan* (high-ranking officials), but in 1668 (9th year of the reign of King Hyeonjong) the king disapproved of the ban, citing *janguui* as a kind of *jangbok* (official uniform). In addition, in 1670 (11th year of the reign of King Hyeonjong) and 1688 (14th year of the reign of King Sukjong), respectively, Bibyeonsa (Border Defense Council) banned high-ranking officials from wearing silk *janguui* as part of their official uniform. Controversies over military officials wearing changui continued well into the reigns of King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo. In 1726 (2nd year of the reign of King Yeongjo) an order was issued restricting military officials from wearing changui under their official uniform, a practice that was in great fashion at the time. Continued use of the changui even by lower ranking military officials resulted in some military officials being disciplined. Furthermore, controversy intensified over issues such as the blue changui and white changui, and the ever-widening sleeves of changui. Jeong Yakyong proposed

in his book *Yeoyudang jeonseo* (*Collected Works of Dasan Jeong Yakyong*) that changui should be worn as a jacket by candidates in the state service civil exams and that the *dangsangwan* should wear everyday attire including *chillip* (black hat), *hobageong*, *dopo* in blue or white, changui, *hongjodae*, and *danghye* (leather shoes). Changui were worn under *dopo*. Most changui relics were made of silk, and the robe was never quilted.

The changui was an everyday robe which was made more practical to wear after the Japanese invasions. It was similar to the *dopo* but had no back vent, which increased comfort so that it could be worn easily and practically while exercising due courtesy. Changui were widely worn as daily wear by the royal family and street clothes and underwear by the ruling class of Joseon until 1884 (21st year of the reign of King Gojong) when changui was banned as a result of the Gapsin Dress Reform. Green and blue changui, and white changui had blue borders and were made of silk, which distinguished them from *dopo* in the late Joseon Dynasty.

Cheollik

철릭

Robe with pleated skirt



Changui, everyday robe, excavated from the grave of Nam Oseong
| Length: 130 cm, Chest: 44 cm, Hwajang: 118 cm | 18th century |
National Folk Museum of Korea

A men's *po* (robe or coat) imported from the Yuan Dynasty of China (1271-1368) which was worn from the mid-Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) as everyday wear or as military uniform (*yungbok*).

Although it is difficult to pinpoint when the cheollik was first imported to Korea, the oldest extant record that contains mention of cheollik



Yoseoncheollik, robe with pleated skirt | Length: 124 cm, Chest: 59 cm, Hwajang: 113 cm | First half 16th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Cheollik, robe with pleated skirt | Length: 118 cm, Chest: 62 cm, Hwajang: 97 cm | Post 17th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

is the Goryeo song *Jeongseokga* (*Song of the Gong and Chimes*). In the poem the wife of a soldier headed for battle cuts out a cheollik with iron and sews it using wire. This old text suggests that the cheollik was introduced after the mid-Goryeo period. A pictorial source is *Samjaedohoe* (*Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms*), which depicts a Korean dressed in the cheollik. A child's *yoseoncheollik*³⁶ is currently preserved at Haeinsa Temple.

Throughout the Joseon Dynasty, cheollik were worn by people from all walks of life, from kings to shamans. It was worn on a variety of occasions as a military uniform, as everyday dress, and as an undergarment. In the section on miscellaneous bans in the “Book of Rites,” *Gyeongguk daejeon* (*Grand Code of State Ad-*

ministration) stipulates restrictions on cheollik according to social position: “The high-born should wear *cheollik* and skirts that do not exceed 13 *pok* [*pok* means one width of cloth], and ordinary people should not wear fabric that exceeds nine *seung* [counting unit for warp threads in fabric] and particularly, their cheollik and skirts should not exceed 12 *pok*.”

Among a set of everyday attire for the king sent by the Ming Dynasty in 1444 (26th year of the reign of King Sejong) *dopo* and cheollik were included along with *gollyongpo*. The Joseon government also provided its officials with a set of clothes, including *dallyeong*, *dapo*, and cheollik, which suggests that the cheollik was worn as an undergarment. The cheollik was usually worn as an undergarment but in times of emergency the outer robes were taken off and the cheollik under them functioned as a military uniform. This was a measure designed to ensure that officials did not let their guard down even during peacetime.

Wonghaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe, a state record of King Jeongjo's visit to the tomb of his father and the 60th birthday celebration for his mother, Lady Hyegyeong, mentions that the king wore *gollyeongcheollik* as he left the palace. Here *gollyeongcheollik* refers to a cheollik robe with rank badges (*yongbo*) attached to the front and the back, and both shoulders, similar in style to the king's official robe *gollyongpo* and King Cheoljong's military uniform.

The cheollik is a traditional garment composed of an upper garment (*sangui*) with a pleated skirt (*hasang*) attached. When it has a visible waistline it is called *yoseoncheollik*. The basic cheollik has a straight collar and the sleeves are either detachable or connected. The detachable sleeves are attached with knotted buttons, strings, or tacking. The connected sleeves cannot

be taken off, hence cheollik with such sleeves are inherently long-sleeved robes. The traditional cheollik provides important standards for distinguishing periods according to changes in the ratio of the length of the top to the skirt as well as changes in the collar, sleeves, *goreum* (chest ties), and pleats. Going into the latter late Joseon Dynasty, the skirt became longer than the upper part and the collar changed from a straight one to a rounded one. The sleeve openings of the cheollik were straight from shoulder to wrist, which means that the width at the shoulder was almost equal with the width at the sleeve ends. Over time, however, the middle section of the sleeves became wider. The chest ties were originally short and narrow but became longer and wider, while the pleats in the skirt grew from fine pleats 0.1-0.2 cm wide to bigger pleats around 1.5-3 cm wide.

36. Treasure No. 1779. Seated Wooden Variocana Buddha and enshrined relics at Daejeokgwangjeon Hall of Haeinsa Temple, in Hapcheon.

Daesam

대삼 大衫

Queen's ceremonial robe

A red robe worn by queens in the early Joseon Dynasty for important state ceremonies.

The daesam is a large ceremonial robe with wide sleeves and no decoration that was worn by Joseon queens from the reign of King Munjong to the reign of King Seonjo. The Ming Dynasty of China sent ceremonial wear to Joseon queens on 14 occasions between 1403 (third year of the reign of King Taejong) and 1625 (third year of

the reign of King Injo). Daesam was included in the clothes sent between the reign of King Munjong of early Joseon and 1603 (36th year of the reign of King Seonjo).

The items sent presumably included crowns called *jeokgwan*, hair accessories with floral decoration, and two sets of clothing. One set consisted of ceremonial wear including daesam made with deep red silk, a blue vest, a kind of scarf called *hapi*, and an ivory scepter. Another set consisted of a deep red topcoat called *dansam*, an overcoat, and a skirt, which constituted everyday wear. It is believed that the daesam was similar in form to the *daxiushan*, or wide-sleeved robe of the Ming Dynasty, worn by titled women of the court of the first rank. Unlike the Joseon queen's official robes which were bestowed by the Ming Dynasty, the robes of the wife of the crown prince were not. Therefore, the robes that Ming sent to queens during the early Joseon period would have served as a prototype for the crown princess' robes.

Even after the fall of Ming, the daesam continued to be worn by Joseon queens and crown princesses for weddings and ceremonial occasions, as confirmed in *Garye dogam uigwe* (state records of the directorate for royal ceremonies). This applies to the weddings of Crown Prince Sohyeon, King Sukjong and Queen Ingyeong, King Gyeongjong and Queen Danui, and King Jangjo and Queen Heongyeong. The state records show that a lined daesam was worn at the wedding of Crown Prince Sohyeon, the outer layer made with 59 *ja* and 5 *chi* of undecorated deep-red silk and the lining with 20 *ja* of thin reddish-brown raw silk. From the wedding of King Injo and Queen Jangnyeol, the term *gyeopdaesam* for "lined daesam" disappeared. It states that the daesam was made of one bolt of deep red *gwangjeok* silk, 5 *ja* and 5 *chi* of deep red

pildan silk, 3 *jeon* and 3 *pun* of gold paint, and had a rank badge embroidered with flowers of five colors and a dragon and cloud design.

From the reign of King Yeongjo, when *jeogui* (Ch. *diyí*) was established as the queen's robe in the royal ceremonial costume system of Joseon it seems the *daesam* was no longer worn. However, the basic style of *jeogui* worn at weddings of the latter Joseon period appears to have been influenced by *daesam* worn during the early period.

Dallyeong

단령 團領

Robe with round collar

A type of *po* (robe or coat) with a round collar, *dallyeong* (Kor. 단령, Chin. 團領 lit. round collar) was worn by all government officials when carrying out official duties.

The word *dallyeong* specifically refers to a round collar but is also the generic name for coats with round collars.

The *dallyeong* was adopted as an official uniform during the reign of King U in the late Goryeo Dynasty when an official uniform system was imported from the Ming Dynasty of China. This official uniform was worn accompanied with the official hat (*samo*), the rank belt (*pumdae*) made of rhino horn, gold, or silver, and black boots (*heukbwa*). *Dallyeong* worn for everyday work were black (actually darkish blue or dark green) in color with the rank badge *hyungbae* attached, while *sibok*³⁷ refers to a red *dallyeong* worn without rank badge on specific occasions.



Man dressed in *dallyeong* and *samo* (official's hat) in a photo postcard | Early 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

Dallyeong artifacts give a glimpse at how the shape of the robe changed over time. In the early Joseon Dynasty it was unlined, so a straight-collar robe called *jingnyeong*³⁸ was separately made and worn underneath. In the 17th century, the official uniform became a lined garment made by loosely sewing two single-layer *dallyeong* together with large stitches. The single layer *jingnyeong* produced as lining was placed inside the *dallyeong* and then the collar, overlapping front panel, gores, sleeve hems, and the hems of the inner and outer garments were matched and sewn together with blind stitches or hemming stitches. In the late Joseon Dynasty, the sections of the sleeve in seams,³⁹ side seams, and back seams in two sets of robes were put together and these three or four layers were sewn together.



Dallyeong | Length: 140.5 cm, Chest: 68 cm, Hwajang: 122.5 cm | Excavated at Byeon Su's tomb | 16th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Dallyeong | Length: 137 cm, Chest: 58 cm, Hwajang: 127.5 cm | Excavated at Kim Hwak's tomb | Early 17th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Dallyeong worn by a woman from the Jeong Family in Dongnae | Length: 159.5 cm, Chest: 60 cm, Hwajang 105.5 cm | Excavated at Kim Hwak's tomb | Early 17th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Jajeok dallyeong, purple dallyeong worn by Regent Heungseon Daewongun | Length: 121 cm, Chest: 47 cm, Hwajang: 86 cm | Late 19th century | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum

The dallyeong is commonly considered a men's garment because it was used as an official uniform. However, artifacts dating to the early Joseon period show that it was also worn by women. Despite the existence of such historical evidence, opinion is still divided among researchers and it is hard to reach a conclusion on the existence of women's dallyeong.

37. *Sibok* consists of an official hat and robe (*dallyeong*), a rank belt, and a pair of black boots. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)
38. Men's robe with a straight collar and gores (*mu*), a rectangular piece of cloth on both sides of the garment. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)
39. This refers to the area starting from the armpit to the wrist on the *hanbok* sleeve.

Dambok

담복 禫服

Clothes worn for 100 days
after three-year mourning period

Light jade-colored garment worn for a hundred days after the three-year mourning period following a state funeral or the funeral in an ordinary household.

The pale jade-colored mourning robe worn during the *damje* rite (rite signifying return to normal life for the chief mourner) is called dambok or *cheondambok*. Since it is not possible to immediately return to daily life after the mortuary is removed, the *damje* rite is held in the 27th month of mourning and is considered an auspicious rite in that mourning clothes are taken off. This concludes the funeral rites held by the living for the deceased (*sangnye*) and the memorial rites (*jerye*) begin. *Cheondambok* is the

lightest of all mourning garments and the garment worn for ancestral memorial rites. After *damje* has been held, the mourner can return to everyday attire again.

If the mother dies before the father the *sosang*, the funeral rite held a year after death, is brought one month forward and thus held eleven months after death, in which case the ceremony is called *yeonje*. Dambok are the clothes worn from *yeonje* to *damje*, the rite signifying return to normal life for the chief mourner after a three-year mourning period.

If the king presides over Jongmyo daeje (royal ancestral rites) even though he is in mourning he wears *champo*,⁴⁰ which are mourning clothes of a pale bluish black color, to avoid bad luck and invite good luck. The same clothes were also worn when the king went to pay his respects at a royal grave. When there was a solar or lunar eclipse he wore them while praying on the terrace in front of the throne hall until the sun and moon returned to normal.

The funerals of the Joseon royal family were considered the funerals of the father and mother of the nation. This is because all social organizations of the Joseon Dynasty, for example the family or the nation, or regional society, were based in the concept of family. The ruling class of Joseon, the *yangban*, strictly followed the Confucian value system and through fu-

neral rites and other rites they passed on their customs to the ruled class and thereby strongly maintained the social system of Joseon.

40. Robe with the upper half and skirt made separately and sewn together.

Dapo

답호 搭穫

Short-sleeved outer garment

Long outer garment with short sleeves or no sleeves worn over the robes from the end of the Goryeo Dynasty to the end of the Joseon Dynasty.

The dapo originated in the Yuan Dynasty and entered Korea in the late Goryeo Dynasty. From that time to late Joseon, the garment remained the same in name but changed in shape. From late Goryeo to the first half of Joseon, dapo was worn over the everyday robe called *cheollik*⁴¹ and was also worn by government officials under *dallyeong*, which was their uniform. Early Joseon dapo were similar in form to *jingnyeo-nyong*, robes with straight collars, and had short sleeves. From the 1630s short-sleeved dapo dis-



Cheondambok | Length: 128 cm, Chest: 54 cm, Hwajang: 95 cm | 1865 | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum



Dapo | Length: 136 cm, Chest: 59 cm, Hwajang: 46 cm | Early 16th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

appeared and from the 18th century sleeveless dapo with side gores, like *jingnyeong*, appeared for a while, as evidenced by relics, and from the latter half of the 19th century sleeveless dapo similar in form to the royal robe *changui* began to appear. It seems that from the 19th century the dapo was a garment worn over the coat and in the King Gojong era it was worn as everyday formal dress with the *durumagi* coat.

41. Everyday robe worn in the palace and by scholar-officials which has a straight collar, wide sleeves, long triangular gores on the sides, and a vent in the back.

Dopo

도포 道袍

Men's coat

Representative men's coat of the late Joseon Dynasty.

The dapo (Kor. 도포, Chin. 道袍, lit. Taoist robe) was the most widely worn coat for the king and men and children of noble families during the late Joseon Dynasty. Those who know little about Joseon clothing may think this is the

only men's coat worn during that period. The dapo worn by King Yeongjo in 1740 (National Folk Cultural Property No. 220) is preserved at Pagyesa Temple in Daegu. There is a record that states when King Heonjong married Lady Kim in 1847 he wore a black hat (*dumyeon*) and dapo after the wedding ritual called *dongnoeyeon* in which he and the bride exchanged cups of liquor, and when returning the next morning after spending the night at the bride's maiden home, a practice called *banchinyeong*. The dapo was not only worn as an outer garment; in the first half of the 17th century government officials wore it under their uniform.

The design of the coat has changed slightly over time, but generally the dapo worn in the late Joseon Dynasty was a long coat with wide sleeves and straight collar with the front sides overlapping, a coat of the so-called *gyoim* form (lit. overlapping front panels). The double-layered back is a distinguishing feature of the coat. The gores (*mu*) attached to the sides of the front panels (also called *ieomsam*, *jeonsam*) go underneath the back panel (also called *maemicharak*, *sugeo*, *hosu*) from each side and are fixed at the top and at the place where they meet a vent is naturally formed, which is covered by the back panel.

The dapo was established as the representative men's formal garment of the Joseon Dynasty. When getting married a document called *iyangdanja*, which lists the groom's measurements for clothing, was sent to the bride's home. Measurements for the groom's dapo, which was also worn on the wedding day, were commonly included in the document. The *Annals of King Sunjo* (*Sunjo sillok*) says that on the 20th day of the 3rd month of 1819, when Crown Prince Hyomyeong was married, his first outfit consisted of a hat called *gongjeongchaek* and a dapo.



Dopo | Length: 117 cm, Chest: 49 cm, Hwajang: 80 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea



Portrait of Seo Jiksu by Yi Myeonggi and Kim Hongdo | 1796 | National Museum of Korea

The dopo was also worn at funerals. In 1627, at the funeral of King Wonjong, father of King Injo, ceremonial garments and ritual implements were used, and at the time a green undecorated dopo was worn as an undergarment. According to the *Annals of King Yeongjo* (*Yeongjo sillok*), five dopo were used when the king was bathed and shrouded (*soryeom*) and thirteen dopo were among the clothes placed in his coffin. They varied in color, including navy blue, red, and green. In a record from 1922 in the *Annals of King Sunjong* (*Sunjong sillok*), it is recorded that a navy blue satin dopo was used when shrouding the body (*daeryeom*) of the royal grandson Yi Jin. According to *Sinjongnok* written by Kim Sugeun, who died in 1854, one dopo was used in either the upper or lower parts of the shroud. The dopo was also used in ancestral rites. In Andong and other parts of Gyeongsangbuk-do Province, to this day many rites are held for ancestors honored in perpetuity and for other members of the clan, and on such occasions the participants are dressed in a Confucian scholar's cap called *yugeon* and a dopo.

Dorongi

도롱이

Rain cape

Raingear worn over the shoulders like a cape.

This garment is mentioned 30 times in *Joseon wangjo sillok* (*Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*) from 1425 (7th year of the reign of King Sejong) to 1798 (22nd year of the reign of King Jeongjo). It was worn not only to protect the body from rain and the cold but was widely used as a gift

for foreign envoys, a gift bestowed by the king, and as a symbol of national strength and promotion of farming it was also worn in the royal plowing ceremony (*chingyeong*).

According to the annals, the dorongi was worn by all sorts of people regardless of social class or rank: it was worn by the prince (27th year of Sejong); it was even worn by the king (33rd year of Sejo); it was worn as an outer garment by women disguising themselves as men (Sejong 23rd year); it was worn as a garment to cover the naked body when one had no clothes to wear (29th year of Sejong); it was also exchanged as a bribe (1st year of Munjong); it was often used as a gift for Chinese envoys (4th year of Sejo, 1st year of Gwanghae); it was given as a prize in an archery competition (5th year of Sejo, 11th year of Sejo); it was necessary as rain gear (8th year of Sejo); and it was a necessary item for soldiers (9th year of Sejo). The annals also record the various uses of dorongi: as a gift bestowed by the king (9th year of Yeonsangun, 4th year of Jungjong, 3rd year of Gwanghae, 6th year of Gwanghae); as an outer garment for protection against the cold in winter (31st year of Sukjong); as a symbol of farmer's attire (15th year of Yeongjo); as a symbol of national strength and promotion of farming (30th year of Yeongjo); as a reference to farmers (41st year of Yeongjo, 22nd year of Jeongjo); as a prop in the annual royal plowing ceremony (43rd year of Yeongjo); and as a reference to loyal subjects (22nd year of Jeongjo).

Up until the 1950s even, it was common for people to go out on a rainy day wearing a fur hat or conical bamboo hat wearing dorongi around the shoulders and wooden shoes on the feet. By the 1970s, however, the dorongi could only be seen in mountainous areas.

Dorongi were made with various materials

Underside of *dorongi***Dorongi** | Length: 120 cm, Width: 60 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea**Person wearing *dorongi* and *satgat* (conical bamboo hat)** | 1910 | Kim Yeongjun

such as cottontail grass (*titi*), rice straw, barley straw, wheat straw, reeds, and sedge bark. In fishing villages it was sometimes made with any easily available seagrass. On the inside the straws or grass are tightly and evenly woven or tied as in knitting, while on the outside the straws hang downwards in rows like a layered skirt so that the rain runs down the outside and does not penetrate the inside. The dorongi had a string attached to either side and was usually worn tied around the neck. In some regions, there were strings attached on the inside in a

position that allowed the arms to be placed through them.

In the countryside, when working in the fields or going out on a rainy day the dorongi was worn around the shoulders or the waist, and for more complete protection from the rain a conical hat at least as wide as the shoulders was also worn. In summer the dorongi was a raincoat but in winter it was worn for warmth. Indeed it had many uses, for it was often used as a blanket when spending the night out in the fields or mountains.

Durumagi

두루마기

Men's coat with no back or side vents

A traditional Korean overcoat worn when going out which has no vents in the sides or back.

The durumagi is an outer garment in the form of a long jacket worn over the usual jacket (*jeogori*). It has a straight collar, neckband and chest ties, overlapping front panels, side gores, and narrow sleeves. In length it comes some-



Durumagi | Length: 119 cm, Chest: 51 cm, Hwajang: 70 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Boy wearing durumagi and nambawi | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea



Man wearing durumagi and gat | 1930 | National Folk Museum of Korea

where below the calves and above the ankles. After the reign of King Gojong of the Joseon Dynasty it was worn by young and old, regardless of class, and became the major coat of traditional Korean costume.

The durumagi is based on the robes and coats called *po* dating back to the Three Kingdoms period. Other types of *po* have vents but the durumagi has none. This accounts for its name, which can be roughly translated as "closed all around." Originally a narrow-sleeved everyday garment, from the reign of Gojong it became a formal coat worn equally by male and female, young and old, by people of all classes.

Garot

갈옷

Work clothes worn on Jeju Island

Work clothes dyed with persimmon juice⁴² and dried in the sunlight that were worn on Jeju Island.

It is not known when garot began to be worn on Jeju Island. Representative of the life of Jeju islanders until the 1950s, garot were worn so frequently by the women so that it became their informal attire. They were well loved because they were hygienic, economic, practical and environmentally friendly. From the 1930s, Korean-style baggy harem pants (*mombbe*) dyed with persimmon juice became popular. Consequently, entering the 1960s, the traditional women's lower garment *galgungjungi* (wide-leg culottes-style pants) almost disappeared. Going into the 1980s, however, with the decline in farm work it was hard to see anyone wearing garot anymore.

In addition, the need for garot further declined as military training suits, reserve military uniforms, dress shirts, or other worn-out clothes could be used as work clothes or old clothes could be dyed with persimmon juice.

Social changes driven by industrial development and the influx of Western culture into Korea caused demand for garot to disappear for a while. In the 2000s, new dyeing methods satisfying modern needs and sensibilities have led to production of a variety of everyday articles that are dyed with persimmon juice, including clothing, shoes, hats, bags, and bedding.

There is no clear evidence how garot gained their name. However, it can be guessed that the first syllable *gar* (*gal*) comes from their functionality as work clothes which turn brown in color (*galsaek*) like bricks or fallen leaves, and the second syllable from the symbolism of rough hemp cloth (*galpo*).

Above all, garot garments are the joint product of nature and human care. They are a chemical-free product since only the natural dyeing agent persimmon juice and sunlight are used, and success in achieving the desired result depends solely on natural conditions and human care invested in the sun-drying process. The optimal condition for sun drying, which takes five to ten days, is completely rain-free weather.

In addition, garot are adaptable to nature, the environment, and the human body. At first the clothes are stiff and reddish brown but gradually turn brown and soft. When the garments are first worn they feel coarse. However, like new clothes that are starched stiff, the crispness of the cloth prevents garot from clinging to the body and makes them feel cool. Hence, the garments do not require finishes such as starching. In addition, as persimmon juice acts as a preservative, the work clothes do not easily

decompose or get damaged even when they are covered in sweat. Nor do they give off a bad smell. Since the color is similar to dirt, they are not easily stained, and even when they are dirty it is not easily noticeable. This means the clothes do not require frequent washing or the use of soap. Garot can be worn in the bath and the dirt and sweat is easily removed by rubbing the clothes. After they are washed and wrung, they can be worn again right away. Dressed in garot one does not get injured when stumbling over a thornbush or on the grass, and rough elements such as hairs growing on the surface of barley-corns will not stick to the clothes, or will easily fall off if they do.

More than anything, renewability is the most important feature of garot. New garot garments can be worn for two to three years. When worn continuously for one year, they fade in color and begin to look scruffy. In this case, old garot can be dyed again with diluted persimmon juice and dried in the sun. This extends the life of the clothes as the newly dyed garot can be worn as if they were new.

It is hard to assess how long garot last. Parts of the worn-out clothes that remain intact can be cut out and stuck on a bamboo basket or used to patch up small holes or damaged parts of everyday items to make them last longer. Garot can also be passed on to the next generation. In Jeju, when a baby is born, the body is cleaned and the baby is wrapped tightly in a cloth for three days to prevent exposure to cold air. *Galjungi*, men's pants dyed with persimmon juice, are used to wrap the baby. The head of the newborn baby is placed in the low part of the crotch, the shoulders and belly are covered with the two legs, the belly and chest are covered with the waist section, and then the whole body is wrapped tightly. This is designed to protect

the baby from cold and to correct its posture as it is not yet able to control its own body. In addition, as the baby cannot be bathed for several days the skin feels itchy but garot helps to soothe this. Another benefit of garot is that the dirt-like color of the clothes makes stains or dirt less conspicuous.

When a garot garment is worn out and can no longer be worn, it can be used as kindling or thrown into the compost heap. Even the last threads can thus be returned to nature as fuel or compost for the benefit of humans.

42. Persimmon juice, obtained by squeezing unripe greenish persimmons, produces a yellowish brown color when it is used as a dyeing agent.

Gollyongpo

곤룡포 袞龍袍

Royal robe worn by the king and crown prince

Everyday royal robe worn by kings, crown princes, and sons of crown princes with a jade belt (*okdae*), royal hat (*ikseongwan*), and black boots (*heukpihwa*).



Hongnyongpo, king's robe with cloud and treasure design worn by King Yeongchin | Length: 119.5 cm, Chest: 53 cm, Hwajang: 90 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea

The gollyongpo was worn by the king when he dealt with state affairs, by the crown prince when he was being taught the Confucian classics, which was part of his training to become king, and the son of the crown prince when he was studying. The name of the robe varies depending on the status and role of the wearer. The gollyongpo worn by the king was named *sisabok*; that worn by the crown prince was named *seoyeonbok*; and that worn by the son of the crown prince was called *gangseobok*, whose name reflects the idea that studying was the most important task for the son of the crown prince. The king wore the gollyongpo at various state events: when he received messages and orders from Chinese emperors; when presiding over special morning meetings on the first day of the lunar New Year and on the winter solstice; during the morning assembly held on the first, fifth, eleventh, twenty-first, and twenty-fifth day of every month; when listening to reports made by high-ranking officials at the king's office every morning; when the state civil service exams (*gwageo*) were held to select civil and military officials; when awarding certificates to licentiates who passed the state exams; when hosting banquets for senior citizens; when receiving official correspondence or gifts from neighboring countries including Japan and the Ryukyu Kingdom; when practicing archery or watching archery competitions; and when participating in military training.

The king's royal robe is marked by the dragon design on the chest, the back, and both shoulders. The dragon was a classic symbol of the king and was depicted on a patch or rank badge called *yongbo*. The king's *yongbo* (badge with dragon embroidery or painting) is a round badge embroidered with a dragon with five claws; the crown prince's *yongbo* has a drag-



Portrait of Emperor Gojong | Early 20th century | National Museum of Korea

on with four claws; and the son of the crown prince's *yongbo* is a square embroidered with a dragon with three claws. The badge for the son of the crown prince, however, was attached to the chest and back only. As such, it should be called *hyungbae* (rank badge on the chest and back of official uniforms), but it was recorded as a square-shaped *yongbo* in *Gukjosok oryeyi bo-seorye* (Kor. 오조속오례의보서례, Chin. 國朝續五禮儀補序例, Eng. Illustrated Supplement to the Five Rites of State: Follow-up and Auxiliary Edition).

The appearance of the dragon on the *yongbo* varied according to the times. The dragon on the gollyongpo worn by King Taejo, the founder of Joseon, is an S-shaped flying dragon with vigorously moving claws, which draws attention to its dynamic movement. In addition, auspicious energy emanates from the mouth of the dragon, a figurative device used to express the vigor of the country's founder. On the other hand, the dragon seen on King Yeongjo's royal robe is looking straight ahead with all five claws exposed. Since the dragon's face is directed toward the front it gives a sense of stability rather than dynamic energy. This sense of stability seen in the dragon design represents Yeongjo's time, which was regarded as the economic and cultural golden age, the age of the Joseon renaissance.

The dragon on the *yongbo* of King Taejo and King Yeongjo was painted in gold, whereas the five-clawed dragon on the royal robe worn by Emperor Gojong, the last monarch of Joseon, was embroidered in gold thread on a separate piece of fabric and later attached. The dragon design on Emperor Gojong's *yongbo* is distinguished from others as it features red and white cintamani (wish-fulfilling jewel). The *yongbo* attached at the chest and right shoulder have a red cintamani, representing the sun, and those

on the back and left shoulder have a white cintamani, symbolizing the moon. The dragon's body is covered with finely embroidered scales and the *yongbo* is bordered with a silk line, which distinguishes the king's badge from that worn by the queen.

Hakchangui

학창의 鶴髦衣

Everyday robe with back vent worn by royalty
and scholar-officials

An outer robe or coat belonging to the *changui* category (coat with back vent), worn as everyday attire by men of the scholar-official class during the Joseon Dynasty.

The form of hakchangui (Kor. 학창의, Chin. 鶴髦衣, lit. crane coat) worn in the late Joseon Dynasty can be made out from late 19th century portraits, including that of the regent Heungseon Daewongun (1820-1898), and relics handed down, including that preserved at the National Folk Museum of Korea. Excavated relics from the time show that hakchangui had a straight collar, wide sleeves and gores attached at the armpits. White robes and blue robes had black bands bordering the collar, front and back panels, sleeve ends, chest ties, front vent, and back vent, and this is one of its major characteristics.

But pictures or descriptions of the hakchangui found in literary anthologies or paintings from around the 17th and 18th centuries are different from hakchangui of the late 19th



Hakchangui, scholar's robe, seen in portrait of Yi haeung | 1896 | Seoul Museum of History

century. The collar was either straight or round and did not cross (overlap) at the front. At the tip of the collar a button or small loop was attached to close the garment, but sometimes it had no closing device. The sleeves were either narrow or wide, or there were no sleeves. The colors were diverse, including white, blue, yellow, black and the borders were either black or blue. Generally no belt was worn around it.

This robe gradually spread among people who liked things of the past, including scholars such as Kim Yuk (金堉, 1580-1658, penname Jamgok) and Song Siyeol (宋時烈, 1607-1689, penname Uam), who had a lot of exchange with China, and students who followed their teachings.

As one of the everyday robes of Joseon men, hakchangui was worn by the scholar-officials with a hat such as *hwayanggeon*, *ogeon*, or *waryonggwon*. The *hwayanggeon* is a type of hat similar in shape to the *sunyanggeon* (*chunyangjin*), the so-called Taoist scarf hat, and the names are often used interchangeably. The *waryonggeon* is a type of silk hat (*yungeon*) that takes its name from the ancient Chinese politician Zhuge Liang whose nickname was Waryong (Wolong in Chinese), meaning “sleeping dragon.” In all sorts of records people dressed in hakchangui are identified as *doin* and *dosa* (Taoists), *sinseon* and *cheonsin* (Taoist immortals), and *seonpungdogol* (a person with the appearance of a Taoist immortal). It is a robe that symbolizes the Taoist, or one who follows the way, a person who has gone beyond the mundane world and lives in the midst of nature seeking spiritual value. Hence, the hakchangui was known as the robe worn by Taoist immortals and was perceived as a garment worn by Taoists or scholars of high moral renown.

Hwarot

할옷

Women's wedding robe

Traditional red women's wedding robe embroidered with auspicious designs.

One of the major bridal garments of the Joseon Dynasty, along with the *wonsam*, the hwarot is an embroidered robe that has its origins in the *hongjangsam*, a red bridal robe worn by royalty. According to *Geoga japbokgo* (Kor. 거가잡복고, Chin. 居家雜服考, Eng. Research on Family Clothing). *Hongsam*, the red bridal robe worn by the wives of princes was adopted by ordinary people for their wedding attire. This is based on the custom of allowing people to use the items or clothes of a high-ranking official on special occasions.

In the Confucian society of Joseon, lavishly embroidered garments were strictly banned, except for children's clothes. But hwarot richly decorated with auspicious designs were permitted on the wedding day, which was supposed to be the happiest event in a person's life.

Hwarot were divided into the court version and the version worn in ordinary homes. There are two court hwarot handed down to the present. They are thought to be the hwarot of Princess Bogon (1818-1832), second daughter of King Sunjo, worn for rites held in 1830. Replicas of court hwarot, the originals of which were lost in a fire at Changdeokgung Palace in 1959, are now preserved at Ewha Womans University Museum and the Seokjuseon Memorial Museum at Dankook University, respectively. These two court hwarot are very different in terms of embroidery and the overall composition and

form of decoration.

Princess Bagon's hwarot features various embroidered flower and jewel designs and gold leaf duck medallion designs, and a hwarot of similar type is preserved at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago (no. 33156). The hwarot in the Brooklyn Museum (no. 27.99.77.4) and the National Museum of Korea are partially decorated with the same type of embroidered flower design. Some of the embroidery designs preserved at the National Palace Museum, including the pattern for the hwarot worn by Princess Deogon, also feature a similar flower design as that on the hwarot of Princess Bagon. Except for a few examples, most hwarot relics have the same embroidery and composition as those from Changdeokgung Palace. This is because rather than the strongly decorative embroidery on the hwarot of Princess Bagon, people preferred the embroidery on the Changdeokgung hwarot, which contained rich symbolism related to marriage.

Hwarot from modern times worn in private homes mostly belong to the Changdeokgung type, though rather than following the typical designs they show individuality through modification of the designs. Filled with beautiful designs expressing wishes that the bride and groom have many children and live happily with their families for a long time, the hwarot is a garment that not only makes the bride look beautiful but it also has the nature of a talisman to express blessings for the bride in her new life.

Compared to the *wonsam*, which was very different when worn in the court and when worn in ordinary families, the hwarot, whether of the royal court or private homes was a red robe decorated with embroidery, both having the same characteristics in terms of shape. Therefore, it is considered the most beautiful



Replica of hwarot (ceremonial robe) worn by Princee Bagon | Length: 143 cm, Chest: 48 cm, Hwajang: 109 cm | 20th century | Ewha Womans University Museum



Hwarot, ceremonial robe | Length: 115 cm, Chest: 46 cm, Hwajang: 99 cm | 1910 | National Folk Museum of Korea

women's garment representative of the Joseon Dynasty.

Currently, hwarot relics are preserved in the museums of not only Korea but also the United States, England, the Netherlands, and Germany. This is because early modern hwarot, which were beautifully embroidered robes and wedding robes at the same time, were acquired by overseas collectors in the 1920s when Korea opened its ports to foreign trade.

Jangsam

장삼 長衫

Wide-sleeved monastic robe

Religious garment symbolic of Buddhist monks and a type of *po* (robe or coat) worn by the queen and the king's concubines or ruling class women as a ceremonial robe.

Jangsam (Kor. 장삼, Chin. 長衫, lit. long robe) that were worn as monk's robes can be divided into religious clothes based on the introduction of Buddhism to China and women's ceremonial costume. The jangsam, rooted in the import of Buddhism, evolved from the Indian kasaya (*gasa*) robe. Records state that jangsam resulted from the combination of the Indian Buddhist priest's robe and Chinese clothing following the introduction of Buddhism to China. *Jikcheol*, a Buddhist monk's robe, is composed of the top called *pyeonsam* and the bottom called *niseungwon*, which are sewn together. Due to differences in the climate and clothing customs between China and India, the Chinese could not wear the Indian kasaya as it was. Chinese people wore *pyeonsam*, the origin of jangsam, which

were based on traditional Chinese costume. The *pyeonsam* was a jacket evolved from *seunggiji* and was worn as an undergarment to prevent the breasts from being revealed when female monks wore the kasaya with the left shoulder exposed. The Goryeo period was when both the *pyeonsam* and skirt and jangsam were worn. According to *Illustrated Account of the Xuanhe Embassy to Goryeo* (*Xuanhe fengshi gaoli tujing*) the national preceptor Samjunghwasang Daesa wore a long-sleeved *pyeonsam* and purple skirt, while Asaridaedeok wore a short-sleeved *pyeonsam* and yellow skirt. This old record suggests that the *pyeonsam* was worn with a skirt, unlike kasaya, which was worn with *chadeung*. The jangsam worn by the monk Samyeong Daesa is currently preserved at Pyochungsa Temple. Made of white cotton, it is 144 cm long, with sleeves 143 cm long and 85 cm wide.

There is a record that shows jangsam were exchanged as diplomatic gifts during the Joseon period. According to a record from 1424 (6th year of the reign of King Sejong), silk, *baekjeopo*, *chaehwaseok*, and ginseng were given to the senior vice-minister sent by the Japanese king, while silk jangsam and kasaya were awarded to the senior officials.⁴³ This record indicates that jangsam were worn before this time.

Jangsam, the monastic robe still worn today, are divided into two types according to the Jogye Order and the Taego Order of Buddhism. The jangsam of the Jogye Order has wide sleeves with vents on the inner sides. Like the *jikcheol* from China, it consists of a top and bottom connected together. The bottom has an inverted pleat in the front closure of both sides, with one on each of both sides around the center front line and one on each of the side lines. At the center back line, there is one inverted pleat and one each on either side. In

total, the bottom has eight inverted pleats. The jangsam of the Taego Order has full-length sleeves and no seam at the waist, similar to the traditional Korean coat *durumagi*. Unlike the jangsam of the Jogye Order, the belt is fixed at chest level. With the side seams as the axis, the robe has a total of eight gores, two on each side of the front and back. This is similar to the jangsam worn as shaman robe in Seoul *gut*, symbolic of the three jewels of Buddhism. The Buddhist jangsam was also adopted as the shaman robe in Jeseokgeori.

Jangsam were also worn as a ceremonial robe by court women, from the queen and concubines to higher and lower rank court ladies including *sanggung* and *naein*, except court ladies working for royal processions called *bo-haengnaein* and *bontaeknaein*. The earliest record containing reference to the use of jangsam came from the Goryeo period. A number of variations of jangsam existed: *hyungbae jangsam* and double-layered jangsam (*gyeopjagnsam*) worn by the queen and the king's concubines; *acheongdan jangsam* worn by *sanggung*; *hongjangsam* (red robe) and *hwangjangsam* (yellow robe) by *gibaengnaein*; *heukjangsam* (black robe) by court maids. In Joseon, jangsam were ceremonial garments worn at weddings by court women of various ranks from *sanggung* to *gibaengnain*. There is a record that jangsam were also worn by female entertainers. An appeal submitted by Saheonbu (Office of the Inspector General) to King Taejong said that wives of officials of senior second rank be allowed to wear *noui*, *ogun*, and *ipmo*, while the wives of officials of senior fifth rank be allowed to wear *jangsam*, *ogun*, and *ipmo* only, but not allowed to wear *noui*. Through this government document, it can be inferred that jangsam were regarded as lower grade attire than *noui*. In addition records



Length: 130 cm, Chest: 88 cm, Hwajang: 85 cm



Length: 140 cm, Chest: 78 cm, Hwajang: 126 cm

Jangsam, wide-sleeved robe | Excavated from the Tomb of Lady Nabu in Yongin | 16th century | Daejeon Municipal Museum

on jangsam are included in *Joseon wangjo sillok* (*Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*), *Gukhon jeongnye* (*Regulations on Royal Weddings*), *Sangbang jeongnye*, a book on court dress published by Sanguiwon, *Garye dogam uirye* (*Records of the Royal Office of Royal Weddings*), and *Sarye pyeollam* (*Guide on the Four Rites*). A record dating to 1445 (27th year of the reign of King Sejong) states that in the Goryeo period *gisaeng* wore yellow jangsam; however, an envoy recognized that this was not proper etiquette and all *gisaeng* changed their yellow jangsam for black ones. This suggests that jangsam were already worn by the people of Goryeo.

The appearance of the jangsam worn by the queen and concubines can be identified through *Sarye pyeollam*: “*Daewi* were made of colored silk and the *jedo* were similar to *dangui* (jacket) and

wide and large. The jangsam was knee-length and its sleeves are two *cheok* (30.3 cm) and two *chon* (3 cm) long and round. They are also called *daesu*, or *wonsam*.” According to this guidebook, *daeui*, *daesu*, *wonsam*, and jangsam generally refer to the same kind of garment; they all came down to the knees and had sleeves that were two *cheok* and two *chon* in length.

Jangsam are classified as a monastic robe and women’s ceremonial robe. The robe used for women’s ceremonial dress had the same name as the monk’s robe, but their usage and style were completely different. The monk’s jangsam can be identified through the early version of *jikche-ol*. Following Buddhism’s introduction to Korea via China during the Three Kingdoms period, Korean monks wore Chinese style Buddhist robes. Jangsam of this type are currently worn in *gut* (shaman rites) that have Buddhist symbolic meaning. Jangsam worn by shamans are called *bulsa jangsam*.

43. See *Sejong sillok*, Vol. 23 (1424)

Jeogui

적의翟衣

Royal women’s ceremonial robe

Ceremonial robe worn by the queen, crown princess, the wife of the crown prince’s son, and other women of legitimate royal lineage.

The jeogui was also called *gwanbok*, *myeongbok* and *yebok* (Kor. 예복, Chin. 禮服, lit. ritual clothing).

As the ceremonial robe worn by the queen and other women of legitimate royal lineage, it

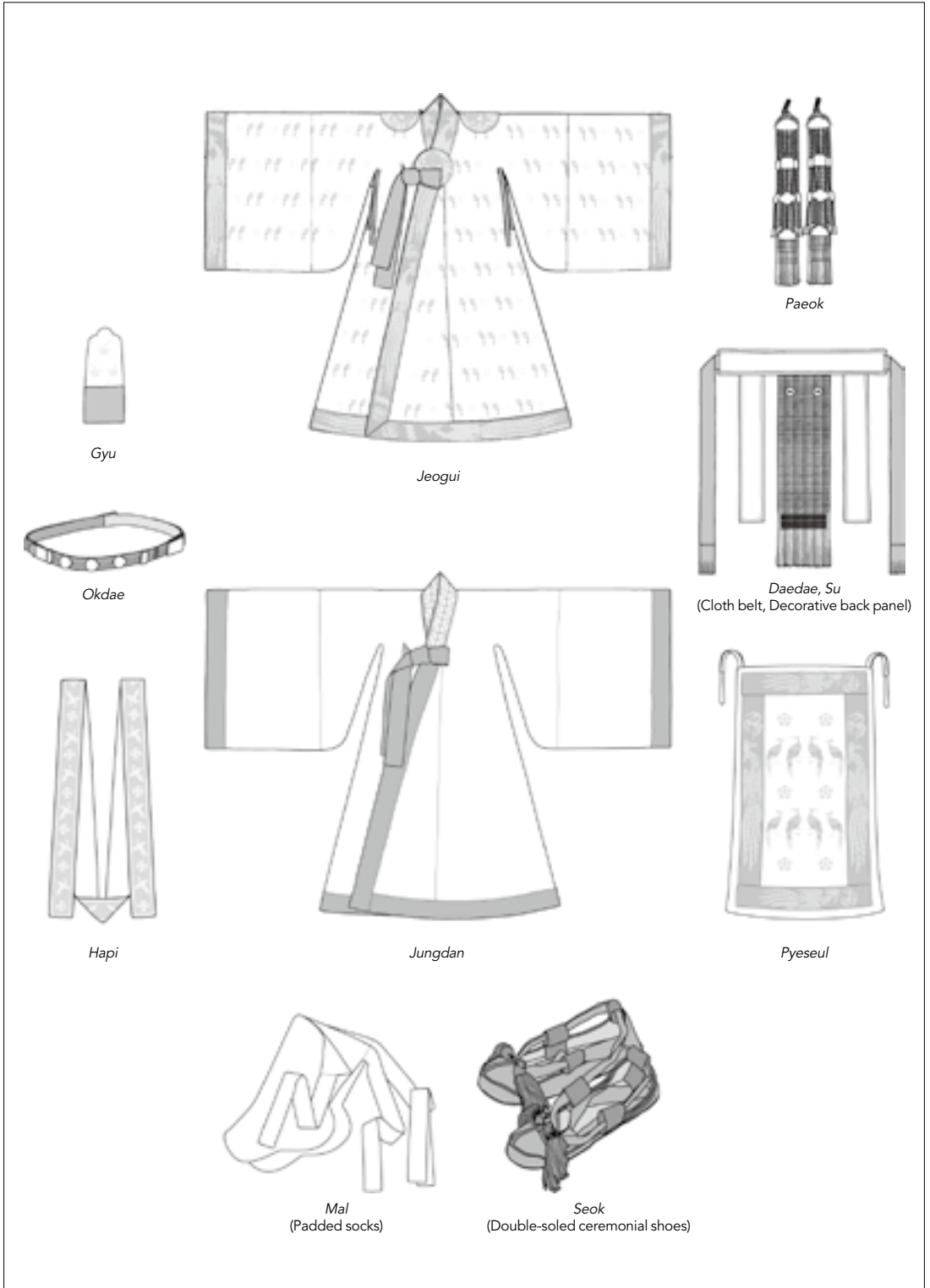


Jeogui (ceremonial robe) worn by the empress | Length: 155 cm, Chest: 53 cm, Hwajang: 101 cm | First half 20th century | Sejong University Museum



Wedding ceremonial photo of King Sunjong | 1922 | National Palace Museum of Korea

was continuously worn for almost seven centuries from the reign of King Gongmin of late Goryeo to the wedding of King Yeongchin in 1922. When a plain red ceremonial robe (*dae-hong daesam*) and crown decorated with seven pheasants (*chiljeokgwan*) was bestowed on the queen in the first half of the Joseon Dynasty, she wore it as her ceremonial attire. In the late Joseon Dynasty the system of ceremonial attire was modified so that the back of the *daesam* featured embroidered pheasant heads and a rank badge. During the Korean Empire a new deep blue robe for the empress was instituted, and through this ceremonial robe proclamation of an independent nation was expressed.





Jingnyeongpo | Excavated from the grave of Yi Eonchung | Length: 138 cm, Hwajang: 115 cm | 16th century | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum



Jingnyeong (robe with straight collar) of the late Joseon Dynasty | Detail from a painting showing Crown Prince Munhyo greeting his tutor | 1748 | National Museum of Korea



Portrait of Yi Jonyeon | Seongju Lee Clan Association

Jingnyeong

직령 直領

Robe with straight collar

Men's robe with straight collar and rectangular gores on each side.

Jingnyeong (Kor. 직령, Chin. 直領) literally means “straight collar” and hence is a term used to indicate a type of collar as well as a type of robe. As a type of collar, jingnyeong is mentioned in both Chinese and Korean records, but as a type of robe it is only found in Korean documents. This indicates the jingnyeong robe is a garment unique to Korea.

The jingnyeong was worn on its own as an outer robe or sometimes under the round-collar robe called *dallyeong* (Kor. 단령, Chin. 團領). After the Japanese invasions (1592–98) its function as an outer robe declined and it was more often worn as an undergarment. In the early late Joseon Dynasty the *jingnyeong* and *dallyeong* were separately made and the two garments were worn together, but from the latter half of the 17th century the jingnyeong was attached to the *dallyeong* as the lining, forming a single lined garment.

The jingnyeong was made unlined, lined and padded and was worn all year round, the color and material differing according to usage. Jingnyeong worn as mourning attire were made of natural white raw hemp cloth and those worn as ritual attire were made of white hemp cloth or another hemp cloth variety called *mapo*. Jingnyeong for everyday wear were made of high-quality fabrics such as cotton (*myeonpo*), *myeongju* (plain silk), and *modan* (velvet) in colors such as white, red, reddish-brown, yel-

lowish-brown, green, and dark blue. Before the Japanese invasions red jingnyeong were popular but after the wars green jingnyeong became prevalent. Jingnyeong worn as official uniform were made of practical materials such as *myeon-po*, *mapo*, and *jeopo* (ramie). Red and green robes were worn by officials of lower ranks in the palace when they went on procession with the king because of the importance placed on the visual beauty of costume.



Jungchimak, men's outer robe | Length: 129 cm, Chest: 60 cm, Hwajang: 119 cm | 18th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

Jungchimak

중치막 中致莫

Everyday coat worn by royalty and the nobility

Men's outer robe with straight collar, wide sleeves, and side vents, which served as everyday wear for both royalty and members of the scholar-official (*sadaebu*) class.

Men's attire of the Joseon Dynasty comprised a wide range of everyday robes or coats called *po* that were worn to maintain dignity. Among them the jungchimak not only had relatively long side vents which made it easy to move but also wide sleeves that expressed the dignity of the wearer. Therefore, it was widely worn among the scholar-officials. The main colors were navy blue, green, jade, and white.



Sangchun yaheung (Enjoying the Spring Scenery) | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation

Jungdan

중단 中單

Ceremonial inner robe

A garment worn in between clothing layers as a part of ceremonial attire.

The jungdan (Kor. 중단, Chin. 中單, lit. middle layer) is a garment that was worn below the outer garment and on top of the undergarments of ceremonial attire. As it was worn “in the middle” it was also called *jungui* (中衣), meaning “middle clothing,” but the name was changed to jungdan during the Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern dynasties of China. Men wore this garment with outer ceremonial robes including *myeonbok*, *tongcheongwanbok*, *wonyugwanbok*, *jobok* and *jebok*, while women wore it with the *jeogui*, *jangsam*, *noui*, or *wonsam*. Jungdan worn with *jangsam*, *noui*, or *wonsam* were called *jungsam*. During the Joseon Dynasty musicians and young child dancers also wore jungdan underneath their outer garments.

Records of jungdan appear from the Goryeo Dynasty but mention of its form are first found in records from the Joseon Dynasty. Regardless

of rank, whether king or official, white jungdan was the rule. But some of the actual relics, regardless of this rule, are blue. The National Museum of Korea currently has two garments called *gujangbok* (ceremonial garments worn by the king), both of which have blue jungdan underneath. Also, relics of ceremonial *jobok* worn by government officials are paired with a blue jungdan, while uniforms worn by the officials have a white jungdan underneath. The jungdan worn by the empress and imperial crown princess of the Korean Empire were jade colored by rule but the extant jungdan that was worn by Empress Sunjeonghyo is white while that worn by the consort of King Yeongchin is a greyish-jade color. The inner robe worn with *jangsam*, *noui*, or *wonsam* was yellow.

Most of the jungdan from the Joseon period were in the form of an outer robe with wide sleeves (though those worn by young child dancers had narrow sleeves) and a straight collar. In the early half of Joseon they had no chest ties, which are found on those from the later half. The collar, hem, and sleeve ends are bordered with fabric in another color, dark black-blue for men's clothes and red for women's clothes. The jungdan in men's ceremonial robes such as *myeonbok*, *tongcheongwanbok*, and *wonyugwanbok* had the so-called *bul* design embroidered around the collar: 13 on the emperor's inner robe from the Korean Empire period, 11 on the inner robe of Joseon king's and imperial crown princes of the Korean Empire, 9 on the inner robe of the crown prince, and 7 on the inner robe of the crown prince's son. The empress' inner robe also had 13 of the pattern motifs on the collar, and the imperial crown princess 11. But both extant jungdan worn by Empress Sunjeonghyo and the wife of King Yeongchin had 11. The *bul* design consists of two *gi* characters



Jungdan, under robe, worn by the consort of King Yeongchin
 | Length: 143 cm, Chest: 53 cm, Hwajang: 105 cm | Modern era |
 National Palace Museum of Korea

(己), placed back to back to form one unit. The *bul* design is the last of the 12 designs used on *myeonbok*. There were no designs on the inner robes worn by officials.

In the case of government officials, the *jungdan* as inner robe was replaced toward the latter part of Joseon by other robes such as *changui*, *dopo*, *hakchangui*, and *jeonbok*. The skirt of the ceremonial attire was attached to the *jungdan* and the outer jacket was worn over it. On later Joseon *jungdan* relics there are loops in the waistband where the skirt could be attached with knotted buttons, ensuring that the lower garment would not slip down during a ritual.

While the *jungdan* was essentially an inner garment worn underneath ceremonial attire when the king and his officials conducted various rites, towards the late Joseon Dynasty there was a strong tendency to treat it as an everyday outer garment.

Kkachidurumagi

까치두루마기

Children's coat worn on New Year's Day

Children's coat made of cloth of five colors that was worn on the last day of the lunar year, which is why the coat is also called *kkachi seolbim*.⁴⁴

Kkachi seolbim refers to the clothes worn by children on lunar New Year's Eve. *Kkachi*, or the magpie, was described as a propitious bird symbolizing abundance, public office, cure of illness, and gratitude in literature such as *Samguk sagi* (*History of the Three Kingdoms*), *Samguk yusa* (*Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*), and



Kkachidurumagi | Length: 58.3 cm, Chest: 35 cm, Hwajang: 45 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea

the “Fable of Ojakkyo” in which birds make a bridge that allows a man and woman to meet. Therefore, the name *kkachi seolbim* seems to have originated in the popular belief that the magpie delivers good news on lunar New Year's Eve.

Kkachi seolbim was also called *obangjang durumagi*, which held a similar meaning. *Obangsaek* refers to the five colors of the five directions (*obang*) – east, west, south, north and the center – which are beautiful and elegant and symbolize all directions and indeed the entire universe. By dressing children in *Kkachidurumagi* or *obangjang durumagi* Koreans in the past sought to garner the good energy and good fortune of all things in the universe and pray for their children to live a long and healthy life and gain wealth and honor as desired by all humans.

Kkachidurumagi was one of the most decorative children's garments and was mostly worn by boys. The colors blue and red distinguishing the wearer's gender held added meaning in regard to the child's future. Typically, red was a symbol of men's social success and was believed to bring good luck in gaining a government position, whereas blue was believed to bring wom-

en good luck in marriage. Red also symbolized the sun, the sky, health, wealth and honor, and in particular represented those in the highest authority such as the king and queen and government officials.

44. *Seolbim* are clothes worn on lunar New Year's Day, or Seollal

Po

포袍

Men's robe or coat

Long outer garment (robe or coat) worn over other clothing.

Po (Kor. 포, Chin. 袍, lit. lined robe) is a Chinese-character word that can be used for a wide range of items, including a long jacket (*jeogori*), clothes padded with cotton, an upper garment with skirt attached, a long ankle-length garment worn by men over their undergarments, or an everyday outer robe. It is not known exactly when po were first worn in Korea but based on records it is presumed they were worn before the Three Kingdoms period.

During the Three Kingdoms period po were worn all year round by all people, young and old, male and female, high-born or low. They had the same form in all Three Kingdoms—Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla—and also in the Gaya confederacy. At the time, native Korean po coexisted with Chinese-style po influenced by the Han Dynasty. Native Korean po were worn by the ordinary people and Buddhist monks as their outer robe. It had a straight collar that crossed over at the front, narrow sleeves,

and came down to the calves. A band of cloth in a different color was attached to the collar, front and back panels, sleeve ends, and hem. Except for the length it was in fact the same type of garment as the jacket called *jeogori*, and indeed was a garment in the so-called *jangyu* (Kor. 장유, Chin. 長襦, lit. long jacket) style. In the Han Dynasty of China po were generally worn by royalty and the aristocrats as an outer robe or coat and by government officials as part of their uniform. Po influenced by the Han Dynasty either had a straight collar crossing at the front (*jingnyeong gyoim*) or straight collar that does not cross at the front (*jingnyeong daeim*) and wide sleeves long enough to cover the back of the hand. In length the robes came down to the ankles or were even longer and trailed on the ground.

During the Unified Silla period, the straight-collar po (*jingnyeong*) worn in the Three Kingdoms period and the round-collar po (*dallyeong*) originating in the Tang Dynasty were both worn. Tang-style hat and coat were first worn in Korea in the first month of 649 (3rd year of the reign of Queen Jindeok). The coat was likely the robe with round collar (*dallyeongpo*). Thereafter the *dallyeongpo* was worn until the late Joseon Dynasty as the uniform of civil and military officials alike. During the Unified Silla period po were widely worn by everyone from aristocrats to the ordinary people. The round-collar po was mainly worn by officials and the straight-collar po by the upper class, ordinary people, and monks as either an under-robe or outer robe. Women also wore po that had narrow sleeves that were long enough to cover the hands with a skirt that was full and came down to the heels. The appearance of *dallyeongpo* from that time can be seen on the clay figures found in the tombs of Hwang-

seong-dong and Yonggang-dong in Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province. Po were also worn in the Balhae Kingdom and the mural painted in the tomb of Princess Jeonghyo (貞孝公主, 757-792) shows people wearing po that come down to the feet or touched the ground.

During the Goryeo Dynasty po were worn as official uniform or as everyday wear. The king and all government officials wore po with a round collar, some with narrow sleeves and some with wide sleeves. For ritual attire the king wore *jahwangpo* (赭黃袍, reddish-yellow robe), *gangsapo* (絳紗袍, red robe), or *hwangpo* (黃袍, yellow robe) while the officials wore *japo* (紫袍, purple robe), *bipo* (緋袍, dark red robe) or *nokpo* (綠袍, green robe). The po worn as everyday attire during the Unified Silla period was carried on during the Goryeo period and a wide range of other po were introduced from China during the period of Yuan interference. The *dallyeongpo* was everyday attire for ordinary men during the Goryeo period also, and the po with straight collar crossing over at the front that was worn during the Three Kingdoms period continued to be worn through the Unified Silla period and in the form of the *baekjeopo* (white robe) during the Goryeo period, when it was widely worn by everyone from the king down as everyday attire. *Baekjeopo* is a white robe made of ramie with no side vents and either narrow sleeves or wide sleeves. Other straight-collar robes such as the *jingnyeong*, *simui*, *cheollik* and *dapo* were worn as well as the round-collar *dallyeongpo*. During the period of Yuan interference the Mongolian robe *jilson* was also worn. The straight-collar robe *jingnyeong* is first mentioned in records in the sixth month of 1387 (13th year of the reign of King U) when the uniform system was reformed and the *jingnyeong* was ruled the uniform of low-level officials. But in his portrait, Yi

Po (?-1373), the son of Yi Jonyeon (1269-1343) is depicted wearing a *jingnyeong*, indicating that straight-collar robes were worn before the first recorded date. The *simui*, *cheollik*, and *dapo* are robes that were introduced from Yuan. The *simui* and *cheollik* were both made by joining the upper garment and skirt together at the waist, while the *dapo* is identical to the *jingnyeong* except that it has short sleeves. Among the *cheollik* there are some which are tucked at the waist. Women's po include *tapjapo*, *geumpo* and *jeogui* worn by royal women and *jauui* and *jungui* worn by the upper class. The *jauui* has a straight collar that crosses at the front. It is a ceremonial robe that is shorter at the front than at the back and the *jungui* is worn under the *jauui*. At ordinary times all women wore the white ramie *baekjeopo*, the system being the same as the men's po system.

During the Joseon Dynasty po grew more diverse in kind and were widely worn as both official uniform and everyday wear. For all sorts of rituals and ceremonies the king wore *gangsapo* (red robe) or the royal robe *gollyongpo* (dragon robe). Civil and military officials wore red, blue or green robes and *dallyeong* as their uniform. In terms of everyday wear, from early Joseon to the Japanese invasions (1592-1598), *dallyeong*, *jingnyeong*, *simui*, *cheollik* and *dapho* continued to be worn as in the Goryeo period. *Aekjureumpo* and *janguui* were also worn, and from the mid-16th century the *dopo* was worn as well. At this time the major everyday robes worn were the *dallyeong*, *jingnyeong*, and *cheollik*. The *dallyeong* was more often worn on formal occasions and the *jingnyeong* on private occasions. *Aekjureumpo* and *janguui* are padded and quilted robes that were worn in the winter for warmth but among the upper class they were worn under the coat and for ordinary men it was a coat or outer robe.

After the Japanese invasions po were simplified. *Aekjureumpo* gradually disappeared and *dapo* changed into a kind of long vest (*jeonbok*) as the sleeves and collar disappeared first and the front panels did not cross over but met in the center. *Changui* type robes (*sochangui*, *jungchimak*, *daechangui*, and *hakchangui*), which had vents, and *durumagi* (also called *juui*), which had no vents, newly appeared. *Namsan*, a new robe in the *simui* category, also appeared.

The reign of King Yeongjo in the 18th century could be called the “po renaissance,” so large and diverse was the range of robes worn: *dallyeong*, *jingnyeong*, *cheollik*, *dopo*, *namsan*, *jangui*, *sochangui*, *jungchimak*, *daechangui*, *hakchangui*, *juui*. During the reign of King Sunjo in the first half of the 19th century, the most frequently worn robes were *dopo*, *changui*, and *juui*. Then during the reign of King Gojong in the second half of the 19th century, big changes occurred. In the sixth month of 1884 (21st year of the reign of King Gojong) dress reforms were implemented and the *dopo*, *jingnyeong*, *changui* and *jungui* were abolished. Everyone from government officials to the ordinary people were told to wear *chaksuui*, which presumably refers to the *durumagi*. The archetype of the *durumagi*, also called *juui*, can be traced back to the Three Kingdoms period, when a native Korean style robe that was closed all round was worn. Government officials and *sadaebu*, the scholar-official class, strongly protested the sudden dress reforms and in the tenth month of the same year measures were taken that effectively allowed everyone to wear whatever robe they found most convenient. However, the *durumagi* gradually spread and ten years later, as the result of a series of dress reforms in the sixth and twelfth months of 1894 and the third and eighth months of 1895, along with the Gabo

reforms, the *juui* was adopted as the everyday robe of government officials, scholars, and ordinary people. Through these various processes, the wide variety of po that were worn as everyday attire by the late Joseon Dynasty gradually disappeared and the *juui* came to be worn by all classes.

In the case of women, in the royal court women wore a range of robes including *jeogui*, *dansam*, *gugui*, *noui*, *jangsam*, *wonsam*, *hwarot*, and *dangui*. Women of the ruling class were allowed to wear *wonsam*, *hwarot*, *dangui*, *jangsam*, *dansam*, and *jangui*. A Confucian-style robe called *yeomui* was worn on ceremonial occasions from the early to mid-Joseon period. The *jangui* was the only robe worn by both men and women and was the same form for both. While men continued to wear *jangui* as an outer robe through the late Joseon Dynasty, women began to wear it as a covering when they went out and the name changed to *jangot*. In the late Joseon Dynasty, men and women both wore *juui*.

The types of po that have been handed down to the present include *durumagi*, *dallyeong*, *simui*, *dopo*, *wonsam*, *hwarot*, and *dangui*. The *durumagi* has become the representative traditional robe, worn as a coat by men and women. The *dallyeong*, *wonsam* and *hwarot* are worn at traditional weddings, and at the *pyebaek* ceremony (generally held after all weddings) where the bride formally greets her in-laws with deep bows. *Simui* and *dopo* are reserved for ancestral rites and for shrouds, and *dangui* are worn at traditional coming-of-age ceremonies.

Sagyusam

사규삼 四袂衫

Children's ceremonial outer robe

Po (robe or coat) with wide sleeves worn by boys during the Joseon period.⁴⁵

Sagyusam is an outer robe with wide sleeves and vents on both sides below the armpits and in the middle of the back. The sagyusam earned its name because it is divided into four (*sa*) panels by the side vents and back vent.

Sagyusam were made of silk or satin and the vents on both sides and the back allowed children to move freely and comfortably. The edges of the robe, including the collar, hem, and cuffs, were bordered with black cloth decorated with gold-leaf designs of auspicious characters or bat patterns in the hope that the children would live a long, healthy and happy life.

The pink sagyusam worn by Prince Yeongchin, son of King Gojong, during the Korean Empire period when he was around 10 years old has no back vent, but otherwise had all the other features of sagyusam recorded in old doc-

uments. Today little boys wear sagyusam identical to those described in Joseon documents as a ceremonial robe on their first birthday.

45. According to *Gyeongam yugo*, the collected works of poetry and prose by Jang Gi-yeop of Joseon, *sagyusam* is a children's robe made in four sections.

Simui

심의 深衣

Confucian scholars' robe

Robe worn by Confucian scholars, *simui* (Kor. 심의, Chin. 深衣, lit. profound gown) that is meant to embody the profound meaning of Confucian philosophy.

Since it was transmitted to Korea from China (where it is called *shenyi*) the simui enjoyed its heyday in the Joseon Dynasty with the flowering of Confucian culture and is still handed down to this day as burial clothing. Hence, during the Joseon period the various forms of simui were collated and systemized and the symbolic meaning of the robe was studied. Differing forms of simui were handed down according to major schools of thought—the Giho school and the Yeongnam school—and according to family lineages. The various simui can be organized into type according to their intention to manifest the true meaning of Confucian scriptures through the form and compositional elements of the collar (*git*), and their reflection of practical thinking (*silhak*), seeking functionality and rationality.

First, based on the simui system in *Family Rites* (*Garye*), is the *jingnyeong simui*, or simui robe with straight collar 2-*chon* wide. Making



Sagyusam | Length: 51.5 cm, Chest: 32 cm, Hwajang: 34 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Simui, Confucian scholar's robe | Length: 133.5 cm, Chest: 93 cm, Hwajang: 132.5 cm | Latter half Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Portrait of Yi Jae | Joseon | National Museum of Korea

the collar with black cloth only represents Zhu Xi's emphasis on frugality. Second is the straight collar simui with a collar 2-*chon* wide and black yeon 1.5 *chon* wide on top, exposing part of the collar underneath. This robe reflecting criticism of the simui system in *Family Rites*, is based on the *Book of Rites* and old customs. It is the rep-

resentative simui of the Joseon Dynasty, worn mostly by scholars of the Giho school. Third is the straight collar simui with overlapping front panel and emphasis on comfort and practicality. When the robe is closed the lower part falls neatly and it was made to satisfy what is laid out in the *Book of Rites*. This robe was worn mostly by the Yeongnam school. Fourth is the *bang-nyeong simui*, that is, a robe with square collar that does not overlap at the front as proposed by the *silhak* scholar Han Baekgyeom. Though controversial it continued to be worn to the end of the Joseon Dynasty. In the late Joseon Dynasty, a simui with square collar but overlapping front, as proposed by Park Gysu and Heo Jeon, was worn mostly by scholars of the Hwaseo school, centered on Yi Hangro, whose creed was defending orthodoxy and rejecting heterodoxy (*wijeong cheoksa*), or following the right way and repelling evil.

In Neo-Confucian thought, human beings are regarded as a microcosm symbolizing heaven and earth, and in the same sense the simui symbolizes the principles of the universe. That is, the simui expresses the will to achieve harmony among the universe, human beings and costume, taking the example of *cheondo* (the way of heaven), which means the laws of nature, and to achieve *indo* (the way of human beings), which means the things that people should rightly do. The philosophical symbolism in the simui is deeply connected with the idea of changes (*yeok*), which is central to Confucianism. This symbolism is expressed through the shapes used in the parts of the simui. The sleeves, collar, back seam, and lower part of the skirt represent the circle, square, straight line and plane, respectively, which are the spatial aspects of nature. These shapes also represent heaven (circle), earth (square), and humans (line

and plane). Thus the simui was imbued with a microcosm to achieve the harmony of human beings and the universe. These four shapes in turn symbolize selflessness (circle), justice and selflessness (square), government and uprightness (line), and peace of mind and flatness (plane). The measurements of each part comprising the simui are in meaningful proportion with each other, and the 12 *pok* (width of the cloth) of the simui symbolize aspects of time in nature such as one year, the four seasons, and the twelve months, as well as the yin and yang laws of heaven and earth and nature. Confucian scholars of Joseon expanded interpretation of the symbolism of simui, and based on what is written in the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi*) they deliberately enhanced the symbolism of each part of the robe through the measurements to make diverse simui with different forms and measurements.

Wonsam

원삼 圓衫

Women's ceremonial robe

Women's ceremonial robe with sleeves of multicolored stripes called *saekdong* and long sleeve extensions which was worn during the Joseon Dynasty.

The wonsam is generally believed to have originated from *dansam* (unlined jacket) used in the early Joseon Dynasty. From the reign of King Munjong to the reign of King Seonjo the Chinese Ming Dynasty sent the queen ceremonial attire along with everyday garments called *o*, *gun*, and *dansam* whenever a new king was



Wonsam, ceremonial robe worn by the crown princess |
Length: 145 cm, Chest: 44 cm, Hwajang: 135 cm | First half 20th century | Sejong University Museum



Wonsam, ceremonial robe worn by Princess Deogon |
Length: 164 cm, Chest: 44.5 cm, Hwajang: 164 cm | Latter half 19th century | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum



Consort of King Sunjong and consort of King Uichin dressed in wonsam, ceremonial robe | Seoul National University Museum

enthroned. The *dansam*, initially an everyday garment worn by the queen, was for some time called *wonsam* as well, and later *wonsam* became the fixed name for the garment.

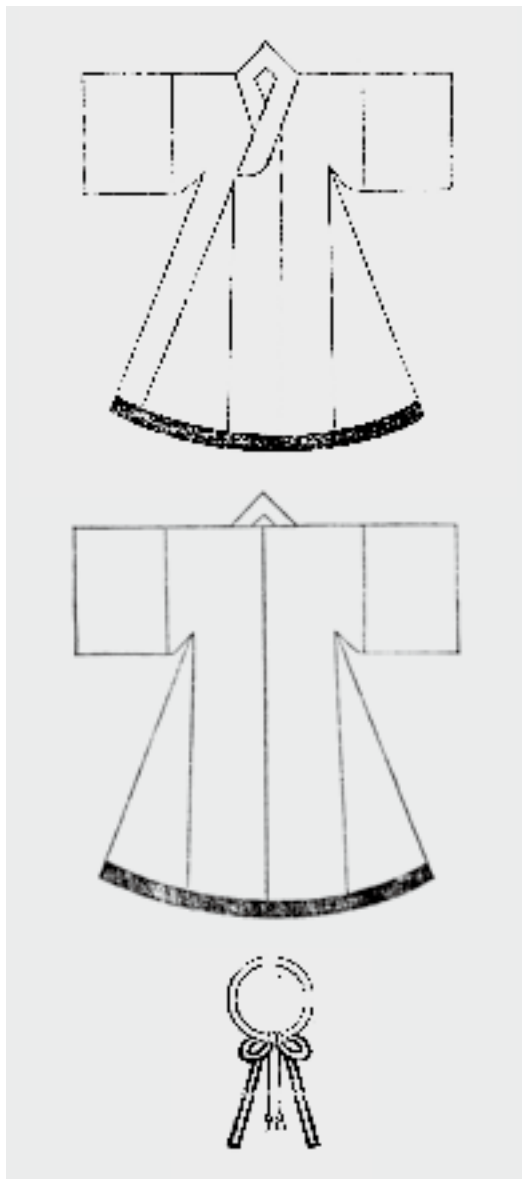
Wonsam were widely worn not only by the royal family but also the general public for ceremonial dress. They were worn on various festive occasions including weddings and the 60th wedding anniversary and were also widely used as shrouding garments. The people believed that if a *wonsam* that had been worn at more than three weddings was used as a shroud, the deceased would go to heaven. The *wonsam* worn by a shaman to conduct *seongjogeori* (rite dedicated to the household guardian god) was a symbol of the guardian god protecting the home and family from evil spirits.

Yeomui

염의 衵衣
Black bridal robe

Black garment with edges lined with red bands of cloth, worn as a bridal robe in families of the scholar-official class (*sadaebu*) of the Joseon Dynasty.

While the traditional Joseon wedding ceremony was held at the bride's home, the Confucian wedding was held at the groom's home. As Joseon was a Confucian nation Confucian ceremonies were encouraged but traditional wedding customs continued to be popular. As a result, except for the royal family, all families followed the traditional way of holding the wedding at the bride's home and going to the groom's house the next day (*banchinyeong*).



Yeomui, red bordered robe, with belt in *Sarye pyeollam* | National Folk Museum of Korea

Taking into account these circumstances, there would have been very few cases of brides wearing Confucian-style wedding robes.

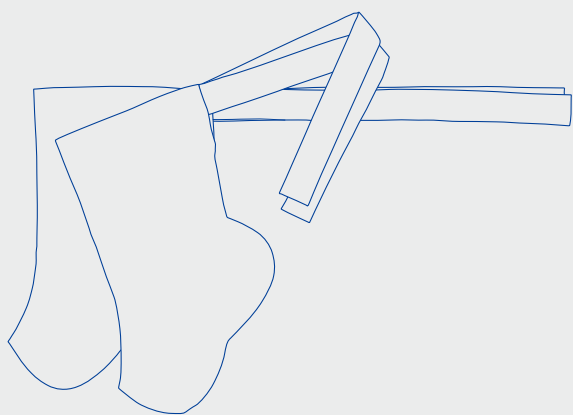
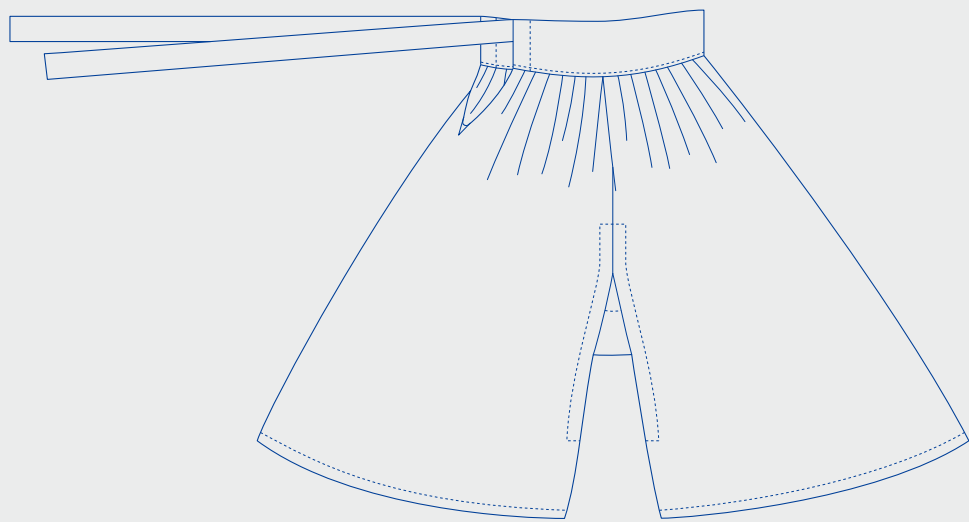
Yeomui (Kor. 염의 Chin. 衵衣, lit. robe with red borders) is a robe-style overcoat called *soui* whose edges were bordered with red. *Yeom*

means red borders on the bottom of the upper or lower garment. The yeomui was worn at weddings. Black silk was used for the outer fabric and white silk as the lining and the edges were bordered with red cloth bands. These bands measure over five *chon* (1 *chon*=1.19 inches). The bottom hem of the robe was edged horizontally. It was possible to put an extra border on the edge of the robe even if it already had a decorative hem called *yeonsik*. When the bride greeted the parents-in-law after the wedding ceremony or when she greeted the guests after ancestral rites, she wore yeomui with the red bands removed.

The edge of the black belt designed to close the yeomui was piped red and a loop was attached to each end of the belt to tie it up and then cords woven with various colored threads were tied to knots on the belt to decorate it.

Undergarments

속옷



Sogot

속옷
Underwear

Undergarments, that is, clothes worn under the outer garments.

Undergarments were worn in several layers for warmth in winter and to absorb sweat in summer. They were generally made of cotton, which was economical and hygienic, and this remained the same after the enlightenment period. Another function of undergarments was to give shape to the outer garments, especially in the case of women's drawers worn under their skirts. Women's drawers were made of cotton and various other materials such as silk, *sukgosa* (a type of soft, light silk made with thread soaked in ashy water), *nobang* (silk organza), and hemp cloth. The drawers worn just underneath the skirt were made of high quality materials such as cotton, silk or gauze all over, or with a wide band of this material from the knees to the hem.

A woman's undergarment, *beoritti* was a kind of bandeau worn to cover any flesh that might show between the skirt and the jacket, which had grown shorter by the latter late Joseon Dynasty. Made of cotton quilted cloth or one or two layers of cotton cloth, the band had straps tied to either end and was worn wrapped and tied around the chest. After the band, the upper garments were put on in order of the inner jacket (*sokjeoksam*), under jacket (*sokjeogori*) and outer jacket (*jeogori*).

Women's drawers came in various forms and can be divided into inner drawers (*sok-sokgot*), drawers (*sokbaji*), and under drawers (*dansokgot*)

in order of closeness to the skin. Drawers that had an opening at the crotch were called *dae-danggo* and those that were closed were called *hapdanggo*. Drawers that were lined or quilted were called *sokbaji* and those made of one layer only were called *gojaengi*. The inner and under drawers both had wide legs and no opening at the bottom. But the *dansokgot*, as the drawers worn just beneath the petticoat and skirt, was generally longer than the *sok-sokgot* and made with better material. Drawers were made differently according to season, some being quilted and others made of only one layer. In the late Joseon Dynasty, women wore many layers of drawers made of different materials which resulted in a jar-shaped silhouette, that is, full at the bottom and tight at the top.

After the enlightenment period, women's undergarments were simplified as part of the movement to modify traditional clothing in general. Instead of wearing several layers of drawers together, a single undergarment similar to shorts or long drawers was worn. Petticoats were made of light artificial silk or cotton and were modified by adding a bodice.

Men's undergarments were not diverse in kind, consisting mainly of drawers (*sokbaji* or *goui*) and upper undergarments (*jeoksam* and *sokjeogori*). When Western-style suits came to be worn after the enlightenment period under the influence of modernization, underwear was simplified as men wore either Japanese-style undershorts (*sarumata*) or Western boxer shorts. As a growing number of men wore shirts as everyday attire, traditional underwear for the upper body was replaced by singlets or short-sleeved shirts with a round neck.



Beoseon
Length: 25 cm, Height: 4 cm
1920s



Beoseonbonjip, Pouches for sock patterns
Length: 9.3~10.7 cm, Width: 8.1~10.2 cm



Beoseonbon (Sock patterns)
Length: 18-32 cm



Beoseon

버선
Padded socks

Traditional socks worn to protect the feet and keep them warm.

Beoseon were called *mal* (Kor. 말, Chin. 襪, lit. foot cloth) in Chinese-character terms and *jok-geon* (Kor. 족건, Chin. 足巾, lit. foot scarf) in the royal palace.

Beoseon come in pairs, the left and right foot distinguished from each other. The joining seam on the instep is called *sunuk* and the area spanning the dented area just above the heel to the ankle front is called *hoemok* (ankle part of socks). The method of sewing the seam on the instep differs on the left and the right socks. On the left sock, the seam of the instep is folded to the left so the left side of the sock becomes thick. On the right sock, the seam of the instep is folded to the right so the right side becomes thick. The wider the ankle of the socks, the easier it is to put them on and take them off. Therefore, the width of the ankle makes a big difference in comfort. Beoseon are divided into two types: straight ankle socks in which the joining seam on the instep is upright; and lying ankle beoseon in which the joining seam on the instep lies flat. They are made as single-layer (unlined) socks, lined socks, cotton-padded socks, and quilted socks. Children's beoseon are called *omogi* (also *taraebeoseon*). Beoseon with a straight ankle are roomy while beoseon with a lying ankle are tight fitting.

Taraebeoseon are children's socks that are worn with the first birthday clothes. These children's socks are padded with cotton and quilted

and embroidered with colored threads. Dark blue straps are attached to the back of the ankle on the boys socks and red straps on the girls socks, which are brought to the front and tied to prevent them from coming off.

Daeja

대자 帶子
Chest wrapping band

Inner garment in the form of a wide band that is worn around the chest to tidy up the bodyline.

Daeja is a wide band that was worn wrapped around the waist and the chest to present a smooth bodyline. In *Sarye pyeollam* (*Easy Manual for the Four Rites*) it says the *gwadu* (another name for daeja) is basically the same form for



Gaseum garigae, silk chest covering worn by King Yeongchin's consort | Length: 110 cm, Width: 30 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Heoritti (Bandeau) | Length: 94.5 cm | Height: 29 cm, Strap Length: 28 cm, Strap width: 5.5 cm | Kyunggi Girls' High School Kyungwoon Museum

men and women but with a different number of straps. The men’s version has four straps, one in each corner, while the women’s version has no straps on either side at the bottom.

Because it was wrapped around the chest, the daeja was called a “chest wrapper” or “chest covering.” Excavated items from the 18th century and items handed down from the early 20th century show differences in width, length of straps, and the position in which they were worn. This can be seen as the result of change in function following the simplification of women’s *jeogori* (jacket) and the height of the waistline on skirts. To hide the flesh under the armpits and neaten the chest line, the width of the daeja and position of the straps changed. In particular, there was a change in the straps: a wide and long strap on the right side was attached at the top while a short and narrow strap on the left side came within 20 cm and was attached halfway up the daeja. Hence the wide, long strap was wound around the chest and tied with the short strap on the other side, pressing the chest down flat once more for a tidy looking front.

Generally the daeja was white and made of hygienic, non-stretchy material such as silk, cotton and ramie. According to season it was made of one layer, lined, or padded. One of the examples at Kyungwoon Museum at Kyunggi Girls High School is made of ramie and another is a winter band made of thinly padded calico. The chest band worn by King Yeongchin’s consort is double-layered, made of elegant natural silk and lined with cotton.

Daesyumchima

대슴치마

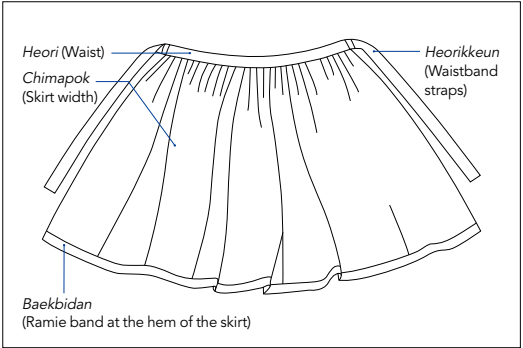
Petticoat for ceremonial attire worn by royal women

A petticoat worn under the wide skirt of ceremonial costume with a band of cloth attached at the hem (*baekbi*) that allows the bottom of the skirt to flare out naturally.

It is said that the daesyumchima was worn by adult women of the royal court and upper class homes of Joseon with ceremonial dress, but no definite records remain. This has not been confirmed through excavated relics either. However, daesyumchima handed down from the late 19th century are currently preserved at the National Folk Museum of Korea, Ewha Womans Uni-



Daesyumchima | Length: 118.5 cm, Waist: 100.5 cm | 21st century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Parts of daesyumchima

versity Museum, and Kyungwoon Museum at Kyunggi Girls' High School. These petticoats are made of ramie and the *baekbi* band at the bottom is made of stiff *changhoji* (paper used on windows) 4 cm wide, which was covered with ramie.

Dansokgot

단속곳

Wide-legged underpants

Wide-legged underpants worn below the skirt.

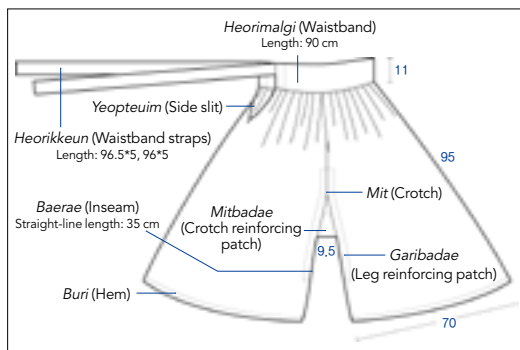
According to period, wide-legged underpants were referred to as *go* (pants) and *iui* (underpants) and can be divided into dansokgot and

sokgot according to purpose.

Undergarments are designed to protect the body from heat and cold and enhance hygiene as well as provide support to make the outer clothing look more attractive. Therefore, fabrics used to make underwear differ according to season and the degree of contact with the skin, and must be chosen to fulfill their function as undergarments and enhance the silhouette of the clothing. In terms of colors and materials, records and relics show that unbleached white cloth was most preferred for undergarments. Generally, hygienic cotton fabrics as well as *jeopo* (ramie), *sepo*, and *chunpo* (blend of ramie and silk) were used to make undergarments. Silk was also used due to its soft texture. However, dansokgot, which are underpants worn under the skirt, looked identical to *sokgot*, the underpants worn closest to the skin, but were larger and wider since they were worn to make a more beautiful silhouette. Fabrics of quality comparable to the outer skirt were sometimes chosen to make the dansokgot in accordance with changing seasons. The *hapdanggo*-style⁴⁶ of *sokgot* and dansokgot were made of single layer, multiple layers or quilted. The legs of the underpants had wide hems and the bottom was sewn between the legs. The bottom covered the area from the waist to the crotch, forming a long triangle in shape. But as the legs grew wider, a smaller triangular piece was attached at the crotch. In single-layer dansokgot a reinforcing strip was sewn in the bottom or the crotch of the underpants to make them more durable. The wide waist section had four to five pleats toward the middle section from the right side and from the left side a waistband called *malgi* were attached over the pleats. The dansokgot were worn by tying the straps around the waist. There were slits in the waist section



Dansokgot | Length: 93 cm, Waistband width: 11 cm, Waist: 95 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Parts of dansokgot

to make the underpants easy to put on and take off.

46. *Hapdanggo* pants had no opening in the bottom but had slits to make it easier to put them on and take off, pleats toward the middle of the waist section, and wide legs like *dansokgot*. ("Pants" in the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

Gaejim

개집
Cloth sanitary towel

Piece of cloth folded over many times or a pad made of many layers sewn together that women wore during menstruation.⁴⁷

Cotton was the material most widely used to make gaejim, the favored type being soft, highly absorbent material like that used for nappies. Sometimes, old cotton clothing was recycled or clothes made of hemp cloth that had become soft with wear over many years were cut into pieces and folded over and over. The blood stains were easier to remove from gaejim made of hemp cloth rather than cotton.

Gaejim were generally made by folding pieces of cloth many times over or layering many pieces of cloth and sewing them together to make small square pads like nappies. However, as women did not talk openly about their menstruation, it is difficult to find records that describe the shape and appearance of gaejim or how they were made. Methods of making gaejim were confirmed through on-site research, and according to the person making and using them there were clear differences in the shape, material and period of use.

Unlike ordinary laundry, gaejim were stained



Gaejim | Kyunggi Girls' High School Kyungwoon Museum

with blood, which meant it was not easy to wash them completely clean. Used gaejim were soaked in ashy water and boiled or soaked in urine until the blood was completely removed before they were washed and hung to dry out of sight of others. When not in use, gaejim were stored in a small box or the corner of a clothing chest or in the washbasin that was one of the articles women brought with them when they got married. When going out, women carried them in a separate pouch wrapped in oil paper or cloth.

Menstruation signifies fertility and the ability to produce descendants. As such it was commonly believed that wearing gaejim (in the manner of modern sanitary pads) marked by the blood of a woman who had borne many children (Kor. 다산, Chin. 多産, lit. many births) would help a woman give birth to a son or have many children. Also, it was widely believed

that wearing gaejim made from the cloth of a banner called *gongpo*⁴⁸ could change the sex of the fetus from female to male. The custom of *simmani*⁴⁹ carrying one of their wife's gaejim when they went digging for wild ginseng in the mountains arose from the belief that they would be able to lure the mountain god, who was fond of women, and gain his help in discovering wild ginseng roots.

47. In modern terms, *gaejim* can be described as washable cloth sanitary pads.

48. A banner or flag made of hemp cloth that was held at the head of a funeral bier procession.

49. The name for people whose main occupation was digging for *sansam*, literally "mountain ginseng."

Gambal

감발
Foot warmers

Cloth wrappers used to protect the feet from cold when traveling a long way.

Gambal are largely divided into two types. The first type was designed to protect the feet when straw shoes were worn on long trips by winding cloth around the feet over the socks. The other type was designed to protect the feet from cold, also by winding cloth over the socks.

At a time when shoes and protective winter gear were not well developed gambal were the only means to protect the feet. Therefore, these foot warmers were an important item that were necessary to prepare for a long journey or cold winter.

Gijeogwi

기저귀
Cloth diaper

Cloth diapers used to allow infants or patients with mobility problems to urinate or defecate without the use of a toilet.

It was normal practice for a newborn baby's diapers to be prepared by the maternal or paternal grandmother at the later stage of a woman's pregnancy, but sometimes diapers were not prepared until after the baby was born. In order to prevent urine and feces from leaking, a piece of cloth was folded into a rectangle and placed between the legs and tightly tied with a strap around the waist to keep the diaper in place.

Soft, highly absorbent fabrics were preferred for diapers, cotton being the most frequently used. After Korea opened its ports, calico and Japanese unbleached cotton became popular. Occasionally, layers of cotton or unbleached cotton were stuffed to make padded diapers to increase durability, but such diapers were not commonly seen.

Families with several small children close together in age who could not afford new diapers because of tight financial conditions would make diapers with scraps from worn-out clothes, regardless of the color and quality of the material.

It was commonly believed that if a baby wore diapers made with cotton fabric from the clothes of a man who had lived a long time, the baby would live a long and healthy life. Though longevity was the cited reason for using worn-out clothes in fact they were favored because they were soft and smooth, which made them perfect to use on a baby's sensitive skin. But



Cloth diapers



Disposable paper diapers

Gijeogwi | National Folk Museum of Korea

diapers for baby boys were never made from old clothes worn by a woman.

In 1938 the *Dong-A Ilbo* newspaper carried an article that read as follows: “It is not a good idea to use thick unbleached cotton to make nappies in the hope of using them for a long time. It does not fulfill the purpose of diapers because the thick fabric is poor at absorbing urine and preventing it from leaking and is not soft. Therefore, a solution can be found in using old and worn-out clothes instead of buying new fabrics. If you are looking for new fabrics, Japanese calico would be the best choice.” This newspaper article shows that the recycling of used clothes to make diapers continued until that time.

In the 1930s, besides rectangular diapers, Western-style triangular diapers and rubber diapers began to be used. According to a 1936 article in the *Dong-A Ilbo*, folded cloth nappies

that were placed between the legs and fastened around the waist with a strap were called “Korean-style” diapers. The article pointed out that the drawbacks of these diapers was the leakage of urine and feces from both sides and for this reason recommended that Korean-style diapers made by folding a strip of Japanese calico should be used for the first two months after birth and Western-style diapers thereafter to help children move about easily.

Rubber diapers were used around the same time. It seems they were a kind of diaper cover made of rubber that was worn over the Korean-style diapers. A *Dong-A Ilbo* article from 1937 advised that rubber diapers should only be worn when going out as they did not allow air circulation, while a 1939 article warned that babies’ skin was often burnt by urine when wearing rubber diapers as warm air could not escape and hence raised the temperature inside the diapers. For these reasons the newspaper advised that rubber diapers should only be worn for a short period of time.

Disposable diapers first appeared in the Korean market in 1968. A rectangular paper diaper made by Mugunghwa Toilet Paper Manufacturing Company measured 35 cm by 16 cm, and a bundle of ten diapers in plastic was sold for 900 won.

Gojaengi

고쟁이

Women’s unlined drawers

Unlined women’s summer drawers.⁵⁰

Gojaengi is one of the many undergarments

worn under the skirt. The two legs are attached to the waistband called *malgi* and there is a large opening at the crotch. When gojaengi are put on, the bottom part of the crotch in front and back overlap. The shape from the inseam in the crotch of the underpants to the bottom (hem line) is round. Gathered beneath the waistband, the pant legs are wide and the hem is narrow. Gojaengi were made of light, thin fabric such as hemp, ramie, Chinese raw silk, Chinese silk gauze, and unbleached cotton.

50. *Gojaengi* are tied around the waist but have an opening at the crotch which means the wearer can go to the toilet without taking the drawers off.



Gojaengi | Length: 96.5 cm, Waist: 98 cm | 1920 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Salchang gojaengi | Length: 104 cm, Waist: 90 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea

Goui

고의 袴衣

Thin summer pants

Thin pants worn in summer.

As an item of summer clothing, goui (Kor. 고의, Chin. 袴衣, lit. pants) are usually made of thin fabrics such as ramie, unbleached ramie, hemp cloth, cotton, or calico. They have the same shape as traditional men's *hanbok* pants and are worn with the men's summer jacket called *jeoksam*. A needlework book written by Kim Sukdang titled *Joseon jaebong jeonso* (Kor. 조선재봉전서, Chin. 朝鮮裁縫全書) contains instructions on "How to Make Calico Goui" and "How to Make Hemp Goui." Regardless of material, all goui are made by sewing together one large and one small diagonal piece of cloth together front and back, then attaching the side widths and finally the waistband. As the pants are unlined they are sewn with flat felled seams.⁵¹ On hemp goui, a band of ramie cloth was sewn to the bottom of the pant legs, turned over and hemmed. This created a white ramie band 2-3 cm wide at the hems.

51. Method of making seams by cutting the seam allowance, placing it inside the folded edge of fabric and sewing it down.



Goui | Length: 86 cm, Waist: 104 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea

Mujigichima

무지기치마

Petticoat worn on holidays and special occasions

An underskirt, or petticoat, of 3-5 layers attached to one waistband that was worn under ceremonial dress to prevent the skirt from sticking to the body and make it spread out wide.

Mujigi is the name of a petticoat of 3-5 layers that was worn under ceremonial dress not to create a triangular silhouette but to make the



Length: 72 cm, Waist: 103 cm



Length: 117 cm, Waist: 93.5 cm

Mujigichima, Petticoat worn on holidays and special occasions |
21st century | National Folk Museum of Korea

skirt nice and full. It is similar to the garment called *seongun* (skirts of different lengths attached to the same waistband to make the outer skirt spread out wide), which was worn by women of the Goryeo Dynasty. Each layer was pleated and full and the function of the mujigichima was similar to that of a modern day petticoat.

Sokjeoksam

속적삼

Under jacket

An undergarment in the same form as the jacket, worn to absorb sweat from the body.

The sokjeoksam is an unlined inner garment worn next to the skin under the jacket (*jeogori*). As it absorbs sweat from the body it is also called *ttambadi* (lit. sweat receiver), or *hansam* (Kor. 한삼, Chin. 汗衫, lit. sweat gown).

As seen in the sokjeoksam that was worn by Lady Yun of the Haepyeong Yun clan (1660-1701), this undergarment was unlined and made a little smaller than the outer *jeogori* with no detachable collar band (*dongjeong*) or collar (*git*). Among the sokjeoksam relics from the late Joseon Dynasty many are unlined and have no *dongjeong*. In spots where the fabric easily gets worn, such as the shoulders and the armpit, the garment is reinforced and the front is closed with knotted buttons. The collection of Kyungwoon Museum at Kyunggi Girls' High School includes a sokjeoksam from modern times with front panels that meet rather than overlap and is closed with a knotted button. On some of the relics from the 20th century the center back



Sokjeoksam, Inner jacket | Length: 37 cm, Chest: 44 cm, Hwajang: 65 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea



Sokjeoksam, Inner jacket | Length: 33.5 cm, Hwajang: 69 cm | 1940s to 1950s | Kyunggi Girls' High School Kyungwoon Museum

to sleeve end is made of one piece of cloth, so there is no joining seam at the armpits. Also, instead of a collar the neck is lined with lace 1 cm wide and the front panels meet rather than overlap. The sleeve ends (*sugu*) and bottom hem (*doryeon*) are also decorated with lace.

Records mentioning the fabric and color of sokjeoksam include *Sangbang jeongnye*,⁵² which says that *hwalhansam* and *sama*, both kinds of undergarments worn under the jacket, were made of *baekcho*, *baekjeopo*, *baeksukcho*, and *baekjeongju* (white silk). *Balgi*, lists of items used in the palace, show that *jeoksam* and *hansam* were made of white or pink *jeopo*, *sejeopo*, *jeohangna* and *sa* (light silk). Among the inner garments handed down from the 19th and 20th centuries, most *jeoksam* and *hansam* are indeed white or pale pink. Summer garments were made of ramie or hemp cloth, while spring and autumn garments were made of silk organza (*juasa*), *saenggosa* (raw silk), or artificial silk, and winter garments were made with cotton, calico, and silk. After the enlightenment period a lot of Western fabrics were used. But in Korean folk

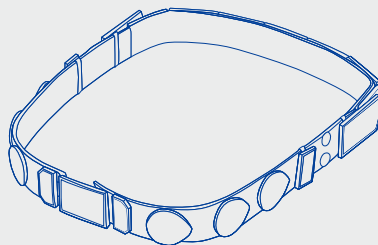
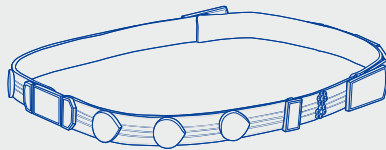
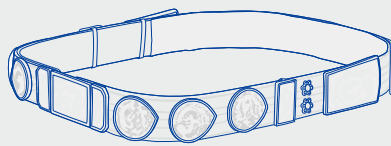
customs there was the belief that when getting married one should wear a cool garment if one's life was to be cool (untroubled), so even in winter the *sokjeoksam* was made of pink ramie.

As confirmed in palace records (*balgi*) and palace relics, a pine pollen colored outer jacket was worn as a set with a lined inner jacket of pink and purple fabric or a thinly quilted inner jacket according to season. The jacket had chest ties (*goreum*) and detachable collar (*dongjeong*).

52. Book on clothing worn by royalty published in 1750 by Sanguiwon, the Bureau of Royal Attire.

Belts

대



Dae

대帶
Belt

Belts made of various materials such as cloth, leather, or metal and decorated with ornaments which were worn around the waist to indicate the wearer's social status or rank.

Belts differing in type according to material, function and social status were worn from the Three Kingdoms period to the Joseon Dynasty. From the Three Kingdoms period, when *jeogori* (jacket) and *durumagi* (unvented coat) were long, belts were worn for the practical purpose of finishing off an outfit, but they were also worn as a sign of the wearer's social status or rank. Different kinds of belts according to material are *podae*, *gakdae* and *gwadae*. Belts made of cloth were called *podae* and different types include *daedae* worn by royalty, *jeondae*, *gwangdae*, and *maldae*. *Gakdae* were originally made of cloth and silk but were later made of gold, silver, bronze, and jade and could be divided into those decorated with various designs called *sapgeumdae* and those with no decoration called *sogeumdae*. *Gwadae* are belts that were made of cloth or leather with a clasp attached.



Doltti | Lee Jiyeong

The doltti is an important item in dressing babies properly for their first birthday. Regardless of the baby's gender, the sash is generally made of red cloth, which signifies protection from evil. On rare occasions it is jade or white. The sash varies in shape and decoration. The part that goes around the back is wide and straight and some have a strap with blunt ends attached on either side and others have straps with pointed ends like a military belt (*jeondae*). According to a family's situation and economic circumstances, a red string was sometimes used instead. The doltti is usually worn around the outer garment but for easy movement or for decoration, it is sometimes sewn down at the back of the outermost garment, which may be a long vest (*jeonbok*), child's ceremonial robe (*sagyusam*), or unvented coat (*durumagi*).

The doltti, used to mark a child's first birthday, was embroidered with various designs such as the sun and moon, clouds and pine trees, cranes and other ten symbols of longevity, as well as flowers and butterflies to wish for the child's wealth and happiness. *Sipjangsaeng*, or the ten symbols of longevity, naturally represent wishes for a long and healthy life, while peonies, chrysanthemums, butterflies and bats represent wishes for wealth and honor. Besides, Chinese characters such as *su-bok-gang-nyeong* (Kor. 수

Doltti

돌띠
Baby's decorative sash

Sash tied around the outer garment worn by babies on their first birthday.

복강녕, Chin. 壽福康寧, lit. long life, good fortune, health and peace), or two of the character *hui* (Kor. 쌍희, Chin. 囍囍, lit. double happiness), or *danam* (Kor. 다남, Chin. 多男, lit. many sons) were embroidered or stamped in gold leaf on the sash. Also, three to twelve pouches containing millet, rice, hulled millet, beans and red beans were hung from it. As life was based on eating grains in those days, this represented wishes that the baby will never have to worry about food throughout life and live peacefully with many children.

Hyeokdae

혁대革帶
Leather belt

Generic term for all belts made of leather, which were worn by government officials when dressed in mourning clothes, ceremonial attire or uniform.

Hyeokdae (Kor. 혁대, Chin. 革帶, lit. leather belt) have been worn in Korea from the ancient Three Kingdoms period, changing over the ages to the present. In ancient times leather belts were worn very often but with the appearance of other belts such as cord belts and cloth belts

they gradually became more rare.

During the Joseon period a leather belt was worn by all civil and military officials with ceremonial attire or uniform, while the king wore one with ceremonial attire (*myeonbok*, *jobok*) and ritual attire (*jebok*). It was in fact necessary for hanging the *paeok* (jade ornament) and *pyeseul* (knee apron). On the leather belts worn by civil and military officials the ornaments differed according to rank. Hyeokdae worn with ceremonial attire was decorated with rhinoceros horn (*seodae*) for officials of senior first rank, with ornamental gold (*sapgeumdae*) for senior second rank, white gold (*sogeumdae*) for officials of junior second rank, ornamental silver (*sabeundae*) for senior third rank, plain silver (*soeundae*) for junior third rank, plain silver (*soeundae*), plain silver for fourth rank, and water buffalo horn (*heukgak*) for fifth to ninth ranks. *Seodae*, decorated with rhino horn, was the highest grade of belt after the jade belt. The *sapgeumdae* is a belt decorated with gold ornaments. The ornaments are engraved with *bosangbwa* (imaginary flower), scroll or bird designs as well as *ttidon*, which are square or round flat pieces of jade engraved with peonies, chrysanthemums or orchids. *Sogeumdae* is a belt decorated with plain gold pieces with no designs. The *sabeundae* is a belt decorated with engraved silver pieces, while *soeundae* is a belt decorated with plain unengraved silver pieces. *Heukgakdae* is decorated with black water buffalo horn. For the official's uniform the first rank wore *seodae*, the second and senior third ranks *yeojigeumdae*, the junior third rank *heukgakdae*, and the fourth to ninth ranks *heukgakdae* also. *Yeojigeumdae* is a belt decorated with gold ornaments in the shape of *yeoji* (lychees) with dark red spots

Hyeokdae, leather belts worn around the waist over official uniform by the king and all



Gakdae | Late 19th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

civil and military officials, were differentiated according to rank by the material of their ornaments and the designs on them. According to rank, the major kinds of hyeokdae are *seodae*, *sapgeumdae*, *sabeundae*, *sogeumdae*, *soeundae*, *yeojigeumdae*, and *heukgakdae*.

Jeondae

전대 戰帶

Cloth belt for military uniform

A belt worn around the waist or chest with military uniform during the late Joseon Dynasty.

As indicated by the name (Kor. 전대, Chin. 戰帶, lit. war belt), jeondae was a belt worn in battle. It took the form of a sash tied around the waist or chest over military uniform or armor. During the first late Joseon Dynasty a flat knotted belt called *gwangdahoe* was worn over the *cheollik*, the military uniform. After the Japanese invasions (1592-98), when a distinction was made between the robes actually worn in battle (*yungbok*) and military uniform (*gunbok*), the latter consisted of a long sleeveless vest called *jeonbok* worn over a military robe (*byeopsu* or *dongdari*) and the jeondae sash was tied around it at the front.

The jeondae was also commonly called *nam-jeondae*, which refers to an indigo colored sash. Actual examples handed down from the Joseon period are made of navy blue silk, and a navy blue sash can indeed be seen worn around the military uniform in illustrations from that time, including court documentary paintings, processional charts from state records (*uigwe*), and portraits of military officials dressed in armor



Jeondae, sash | Length: 234 cm, Width: 10 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea



Jeondae, sash with gold leaf design | Length: 230 cm, Width: 18 cm | Modern era | National Folk Museum of Korea

and helmet (*gapju*) with jeondae around the waist.

The jeondae was worn in two ways. It was sometimes worn over a thick, wide belt called *yodae* (Kor. 요대, Chin. 腰帶, lit. waist belt) and sometimes on its own. In a number of paintings such as the portrait of King Cheoljong, the folding screen *Hwaseong neunghaengdo* (showing the royal procession to the tomb of Crown Prince Sado in Hwaseong), *Banquet for the Governor of Pyongyang*, and in the book *Muye dobo tongji* (*Comprehensive Illustrated Manual of Martial Arts*), the *yodae* and jeondae can be seen worn together. But in other portraits and genre paintings the jeondae is worn on its own. In the processional chart (*banchado*) of *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe* (*State Record of King Jeongjo's Procession to the Tomb of Crown Prince Sado in the Eulmyo Year*) the military officials and generals are depicted wearing jeondae over *yodae* while the musicians and ordinary soldiers wear the jeondae on its own.

Most cloth sashes were made by cutting a piece of cloth to the desired length, folding it in half lengthwise and sewing the edge. But in the case of jeondae, the material had to be cut longer than usual, as it was placed on a slant and folded over in spiral fashion and the ends that met were sewn down. That is, it was made along the diagonal grain and therefore had elasticity and could be tied more securely. This is why in paintings the end of the sash is pointed, and in the *uigwe* too, the diagonal structure of the sash is clearly depicted. Most jeondae relics are made of navy blue *gapsa* (fine silk gauze) with a woven design of dragon medallions, and are around 10 cm wide with length varying from 250 cm to 280 cm. As they were essentially tubular in form, important documents or other items could be carried inside them.

Jeondae were not only worn as part of military uniform but also the clothing of young boys. When a long navy blue vest (*jeonbok*) was worn over the *durumagi* coat, a red tasseled belt was worn around the waist or a red jeondae with gold leaf decoration. Among the clothes worn by Prince Yi Gu (1931-2005), son of King Yeongchin, there is a red silk jeondae decorated with the characters for longevity and good fortune, as well as flowers and other auspicious designs in gold leaf.

Okdae (Kor. 옥대, Chin. 玉帶, lit. jade belt) was made by wrapping silk around a belt strap of leather, wood, or paper. The silk covering the belt differed according to rank: the belt worn by the king was wrapped with red silk, the crown prince's belt with black silk, and the belt worn by the queen and son of the crown prince with blue silk. The belts were then decorated with five gold lines and the back of the strap was covered with silk of a different color. The okdae was opened or closed with a clasp made of interlocking metal plates called *nalleumsoe*. Decorative jade pieces attached to the belt were called *ttidon* and were placed symmetrically on either side of the three rectangular jade plates hiding the clasp in the center. The *ttidon* included three peach-shaped pieces, one rectangular piece, and one that was narrow at one end and wide at the other end. In between are a tie-down lock and flower-shaped metal plate. At the back are seven rectangular plates.

Okdae

옥대 玉帶

Royal belt decorated with jade

Belt adorned with jade worn by the king, the queen, and crown prince.



Jade belt worn by King Yeongchin



Jade belt worn by King Yeongchin's consort

Okdae | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Portrait of Emperor Gojong | National Palace Museum of Korea

According to *Yeongjo sillok* (*Annals of King Yeongjo*), when the king heard of a jade belt that had been worn by his predecessor, which had been preserved after repairs, after much thought he selected an official to whom he granted the belt with an inscription that he had written himself. This episode suggests the significance carried by the okdae.

Sejodae

세조대 細條帶
Thin cord belt

Thin belt made of threads twisted together to make a cord (*dahoe*) that was worn with outer garments such as *dopo*, *jeonbok* or *changui* (scholar's robe).

A type of belt in the category of silk belts (*sadae*) consisting of a cord made with silken threads, sejodae also had tassels (*sul*) at either end, and for this reason it was also called *sultti*. It was worn around the waist and the rank of the wearer was distinguished by the color of the cord. The sejodae was one of the belts, including *wondahoe*⁵⁴ (Kor. 원다회, Chin. 圓多繪, lit. round cord), *gwangdahoe*⁵⁵ (flat cord), *gakdae*⁵⁶

(Kor. 각대, Chin. 角帶, lit. horn belt), and *yodae* (Kor. 요대, Chin. 腰帶, lit. waist belt) that was worn with ceremonial and official attire or with everyday outer garments such as *dopo* (coat) and *jeonbok* (long military vest), the color differing according to the rank of the wearer. The ends were finished off with a strawberry tassel or bell tassel.

A belt worn by men of the Joseon Dynasty over their outer garments, the sejodae was generally worn at the chest, a little higher than the waist. It varied in length, shorter ones reaching 190 cm and longer ones even more than 4 m.

53. Round cord belt. Round cords were used to make pendants (*norigae*), pouch strings and tassels for various other items.
54. Flat cord belt. Wide, flat cords were used as belts for garments such as *dopo* and for ankle bands around *hanbok* pants.
55. Generic name for belts worn by all officials. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Costume Culture*)

Yajadae

야자대 也字帶
Belt worn by officials and court musicians

Belt worn by civil and military officials with their formal attire as well as by court musicians.

The yajadae is a long strap worn around the waist. A buckle is attached to the head of the belt and at the tip a clasp called *tami* was attached. On the inner side of the belt was an additional belt where the buckle clasp was inserted to secure the yajadae in place. The tip where the clasp is attached is tucked in the belt and hangs down in the shape of the Chinese character *ya* (也), which is why this long belt was called yaja-



Sejodae, thin cord belt | Joseon | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Portrait of Kwon Gisu | National Jeonju Museum



Morangeumdae, Gold belt with peony design | From Taesamyo Shrine in Andong | Length: 172 cm | 14th century | Andong Folk Museum



Eunyadae, Silver official's belt illustration from *Jinchan Uigwe* | 1829 | Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies



Musicians wearing yajadae belts | From a folding screen depicting a banquet held in the musin year | 1848 | National Museum of Korea

dae or *yadae* (也帶).

Among the stone images of civil officials in formal attire found around the royal tombs of Joseon, most of them were found wearing the yajadae. In addition, the painting titled *Wangbokdo* included in *Wangseja ipak docheop*, a picture book painted in 1817 that depicts the celebration of Crown Prince Hyomyeong's admission to the national Confucian academy Seonggyungwan, shows the crown prince's teacher dressed in formal clothes composed of red coat (*hongpo*), *bokdu* (hat) and dark blue yajadae (belt) wrapped around his waist.

Yojil

요질 腰經

Belt for mourning attire

Belt of mourning attire worn over *gyodae*.

Yojil (Kor. 요질, Chin. 腰經, lit. hemp waist belt) modelled on the *daedae* (large belt), is a cord worn around the waist. The ends are tied together and left to hang down and the belt is worn over a ramie belt called *gyodae* or *hyodae*. The *gyodae* was modelled on the leather belt and has a loop at one end to which the other end of the belt was inserted and the two ends were tied together.

The material used for yojil according to the five types of mourning clothes are as follows: *jama* (hemp cloth from the female hemp plant) for *chamchoe*, *muma* (hemp cloth from the male hemp plant) for *jaechoe* (upper garment); and *joma* (hemp cloth) for *sogong* and *sima*. The system is the same as that applied to *sujil*, the hemp cord worn around the head.



Yojil, belt worn with mourning clothes | Length: 126 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea

There were differences in the size of the belt. Men wore it with both ends hanging down (*sansu*), but the way it was worn changed over time. Yojil that were worn during *soryeom* (shrouding the body of the deceased in a cloth) were made of hemp that remained hanging down and was braided three days later when changing into mourning dress. The practice of letting the belt ends hang down was not carried out when wearing mourning clothes under the grade of *sogong*, or by people aged 50 or older and the wife of the deceased. That was because it was difficult for people over 50 to go through the funeral processes due to physical weakness. Therefore, the practice of *sansu* was not observed to avoid hurting the body that had been given to them by their parents.

Modern clothing

근대복식



Danbalmeori

단발머리
Bobbed hair

Short hair that falls just past the ears.

Unlike men who were subject to the edict prohibiting topknots under Japanese colonial rule, Korean women cut their hair short of their own free will. This new practice of wearing a bob cut began with women who returned home after studying abroad. These women were called “beautiful women with short hair,” “short-haired women,” and “modern girls.”



Newspaper article on musician Park Gyeonghui's return to Korea | October 24, 1928 | Dong-A Ilbo

This new hairstyle meant more than just wearing the hair short. Many women at the time sought to break away from the confinement of Confucian ethics under which they were forced to live. This new desire was stimulated by admiration of Western civilization and began to be expressed by following the new trend of short hair. New terms such as *sinyeo-seong* (new woman) or modern girls were coined for these women who had received a modern education, cut their hair short, and wore skirts without vents. Though often at the center of controversy in Korean society their appearance gradually influenced other ordinary women and they emerged as the object of admiration.

Dongdong gurimu

동동구리무
Face cream sold by street vendors

A generic name for cosmetics or face cream sold by commercial travelers or peddlers who moved about pulling a handcart while beating a drum during the period after Korea's opening of ports.

“*Dongdong gurimu*” is what the peddlars shouted as they hawked their wares. *Dongdong* comes from the sound of the hand drum that peddlers used to hawk their wares while *gurimu* comes from the word “cream.” It is not known for sure whether *gurimu* (or *gurimeu*) was the Korean pronunciation of the English word or a variation of the Japanese version, *kurimu*. Around 1920 all sorts of face creams were imported or made and sold in Korea. Newspapers carried articles saying the cream was effective in preventing chapped skin and tinea while cosmetics

importers and sellers lured customers with advertising that promised the cream would help them achieve smooth, white skin.

Face cream was generally sold by filling containers that the customers brought from a big vat. In the early days, dongdong gurimu was used as an ordinary noun denoting any kind of cream applied to the face or cosmetics sold by traveling or door-to-door salesmen.

Gomusin

고무신
Rubber shoes

Shoes made of rubber.

Gomusin were first widely distributed throughout Korea during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945). When mass production of rubber shoes was made possible in Japan production volume increased greatly, but the Japanese did not like rubber shoes as they did not allow good air circulation. As stockpiles increased, Japanese rubber companies began to export rubber shoes to Korea and China. From around 1919 Korean newspapers frequently promoted Japanese-made rubber shoes. Gomusin were cheap at around one third of the price of leather shoes, and were first introduced as waterproof foreign shoes worn in summer. They were not widely popular in Korea at first and were mostly worn by people who were frequently exposed to Western culture. Then in the early 1920s, gomusin with a Korean aesthetic began to appear.

Coming into widespread use from that time, gomusin could be worn with either traditional padded socks or Western-style socks. As the



Gomusin | Width: 6.5 cm, Length: 13-24 cm | 1970s | National Folk Museum of Korea



Rubber shoe sellers and customers | Kim Yeongjun

material was strong and completely waterproof, rubber shoes were very practical and hence were worn mostly by farmers or poor city dwellers. The first gomusin were black and undecorated. When demand increased, they were made in a variety of colors and designs, and as a result the shoes even became difficult to procure. White gomusin in particular were hugely popular among women. Children considered them precious and would sleep with them by their pillows for fear of losing them and hold them in their hands while walking instead of wearing them.

Gaeryang hanbok

개량한복 改良韓服
Modified hanbok

General term for traditional Korean clothing, or *hanbok*, that was modified to change impractical aspects. Such changes began to be made when Korea was exposed to Western practicality and functionalism after the enlightenment period.

Gaeryang hanbok emerged from a critical view of traditional *hanbok* with the purpose of making traditional clothing more comfortable to wear. Consequently, when *hanbok* started to be modified in the enlightenment period, the influence of modernism and the pursuit of Western practicality and function was expressed in *hanbok* that were modified to be more functional, easy to move in, and economical. As such, modified *hanbok* had a social influence until the first half of the 1970s and also inspired the emergence of *saenghwal hanbok* (everyday *hanbok*) in the 1980s. The major outcomes of the gaeryang hanbok movement were the change in the women's traditional wrap skirt to a closed skirt with bib worn over the shoulders, which was paired with a long *jeogori* (jacket-like upper garment) with no chest ties (*goreum*), thus maintaining traditional elements, and the pursuit of gender equality as women adopted the men's coat called *durumagi* and long jacket called *magoja*. Men's gaeryang hanbok generally took the form of traditional *hanbok* with simplified details, such as the sleeves and chest ties, and the adoption of elements of Western clothing such as the *hanbok* vest based on the Western vest and Western style pockets.

Gyobok

교복 校服
School uniform

School uniform worn by students.

From around 1883, when modern schools were established, until December 8195, when the edict was made for men to cut their hair short (*danballyeong*), that is, to cut off their topknots, students usually wore a jacket and pants and a vest with pockets on top or sometimes a coat called *durumagi*. Initially the hair was tied in a topknot and a *gat* was worn on top of it, or it was braided and tied with a ribbon. After the edict to cut off topknots, the student hat marked with the school insignia was introduced. Some schools wore traditional clothing, or *hanbok*, as school uniform.

Modern school uniforms appeared with the establishment of modern schools, based on the abolition of the social class system and introduction of compulsory education. The first part



Changes in school uniforms | 1998 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Girls' school uniforms for summer | 1950s | Seoul History Museum



Boys' school uniforms for summer



Boys' school uniform for winter

School uniforms | 1960s | Seoul History Museum

of the school uniform to be introduced was the student hat, which was worn over short hair. The transition from *hanbok* to Western-style school uniforms became a guide for ordinary men and women as they too shifted to Western-style clothing. Uniforms were worn or not worn at the discretion of the principal of each school,

but sometimes it was designated by the state educational authorities. Political, economic and social changes have changed the form of school uniforms in the process of uniforms being made mandatory, then abolished and then encouraged again. School uniforms serve to control students and distinguish them from other people. When school uniforms played a large role in keeping students under the control of the state or school, the emphasis was on getting rid of the sense of incompatibility caused by the gap between rich and poor and strengthening the sense of community. Meanwhile, since the 1990s, the market for ready-to-wear school uniforms has been dominated by large companies.

Jebok

제복 制服
Uniforms

Uniforms made according to set standards and systems.

The origin of Korean jebok (Kor. 제복, Chin. 制服, lit. systemized clothing) goes back to traditional society and the uniforms worn by government officials: *jobok*, *jebok*, *gongbok*, and *sangbok*. Major suit-style uniforms are the civil official's uniform, army uniform, and police uniform, which were introduced when the government adopted reform of the clothing system after the opening of the nation's ports. Through the experience of suit-style uniforms introduced by the government and the school students wearing school uniform, uniforms played an important role in the introduction of Western suits to Korea.

If in the modern era the uniform was something worn by people in superior positions such as civil servants, in contemporary times uniforms have a wider meaning: there are uniforms worn in the workplace to represent affiliation or a sense of belonging, and there are uniforms of groups and organizations that represent responsibility.

Jokki

조끼
Western-style vest

Sleeveless garment worn instead of the traditional vest called *baeja* following the opening of ports and the introduction of Western attire.

The jokki is a Western-style vest that was newly introduced to the country with Western suits following the opening of Korea's ports. But in the early days it was Koreanized as it was worn over the traditional jacket (*jeogori*). During the Joseon Dynasty, commoners were nearly always dressed in *jeogori* and as it had no pockets they had to carry separate pouches in which to carry personal items. The jokki had buttons instead of chest ties and as it had pockets it was very convenient. So without any particular encouragement, when the vest appeared it spread rapidly and was widely worn by male adults and children in the royal court and in ordinary homes. There are many photos from the late Joseon Dynasty showing men wearing jokki as they went about their business, indicating that it had become an essential item of clothing by that time. *Joseon jaebong jeonseo* (Kor. 조선재방전서, Chin. 朝鮮裁縫全書, Eng. Joseon Sewing

Encyclopedia), a book on Korean needlework written in 1925 for educational purposes, separately explains how to sew a Western vest and how to sew a traditional Korean vest. Newspaper articles and illustrations from that time also featured a lot of people wearing jokki, confirming the popularity of the garment.

When Korean attire came under the influence of the Western suit with the opening of ports, jokki were made with a pocket on either side and a small pocket on the upper left side, like Western suit jackets and vests. This was called the *gaehwa jokki*, or "enlightenment vest." Because of its novelty and convenience it was widely worn in the court and by ordinary people, who sometimes wore jokki as their outermost garment when going out instead of the *durumagi* coat.

In winter jokki were lined and made of silk or cotton fabrics in dark colors. In summer they were made of calico or ramie in light colors and were unlined. Jokki were sometimes worn with *magoja* jackets, and in such cases the same fabric was used for both items. They were sometimes made of fabric that was imported thanks to exchange with foreign countries and children's vests were decorated with gold leaf or embroidery.



Jokki, Western-style vest | Back Length: 46.7 cm, Chest: 47.5 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea

Jungjeolmo

중절모 中折帽
Fedora hat

Fedora hat with round brim and crown that is indented at the top and the sides.

This is one of the hats that was most commonly worn when Korean men started to wear their hair short after the edict to cut off their topknots on occasions that required them to wear a hat. The hunting cap (Jap. *toriuchi*) was first popularly worn, then the fedora came to be widely worn first with traditional attire and then with Western attire. Afterwards the jungjeolmo changed in varied ways and its production and consumption reflected the social situation in Korea during Japanese occupation. These days it is worn in various ways by both men and women.



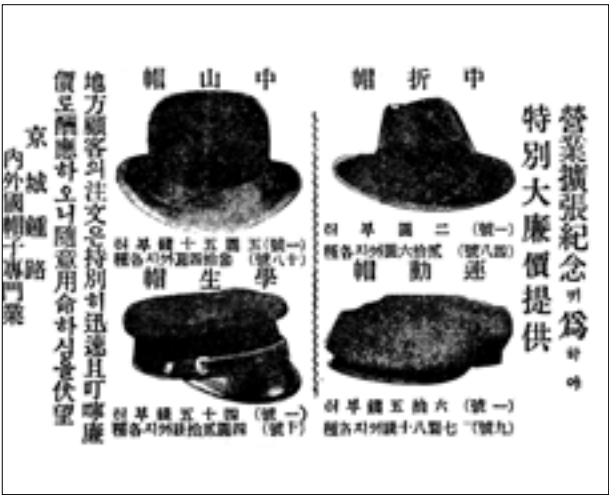
Jungjeolmo, fedora hat | Length: 13 cm, Width: 32 cm | 1960s | National Folk Museum of Korea

Jungsanmo

중산모 中山帽
Bowler hat

Hat with narrow brim and round crown.

The jungsanmo is a bowler hat, first worn in Korea by people who had been exposed to foreign culture following the opening of the nation's ports. It is a hard-type Western hat, more formal than the fedora and worn on occasions requiring less formality than a silk hat. Considering records stating that after adult men were ordered to cut off their topknots King Sunjong urged them to wear the jungsanmo or a straw hat called *maekgomo*, it seems government officials were the first people encouraged to wear this hat. Later it was worn by the general public but it was more expensive and high-quality than the fedora and was not that widespread. From modern times it was not commonly worn but it is still worn by male and female, young and old alike when they want to achieve a certain style.



Ad for discounted hats | October 21, 1921 | Dong-A Ilbo

Magoja

마고자

Long hanbok jacket

Long jacket-like garment worn over the *hanbok* jacket (*jeogori*) with a collar that does not overlap at the front.

In regard to the origin of the magoja, it is generally traced back to the regent Heungseon Daewongun (1820-1898), who was apparently dressed in the Qing jacket called *magua* (Kor. *makwae*) when he was released from Baoding, where he had been held captive by the Qing Dynasty. However, even before the Regent Heungseon Daewongun's time, a similar garment called *masangui* (lit. clothing worn on horse-back) already existed.

Though similar to the *jeogori*, the magoja is closed with buttons at the front instead of chest ties. These days magoja is made without a collar, but among examples handed down from the late Joseon Dynasty, as with the blackish blue *magoja* with the Buddha's hand design (*doryubulsu*) in Sookmyung Women's University Museum, some have a sort of collar made of hemp attached.

The men's magoja is closed with two buttons down the front, top and bottom, which were closed in the button loops on the other side. The buttons were most often made of silver, agate, and amber. However, the women's magoja had buttons decorated with chrysanthemum and bat designs attached on the left and right sides, male and female, like the buttons found on *wonsam*.

The magoja could be worn by anyone, male or female, young or old but was generally worn



Men's magoja (jacket) |
Length: 59.5 cm, Chest: 49.5 cm, Hwajang: 69 cm | 1946



Women's magoja (jacket) |
Length: 27 cm, Chest: 41 cm, Hwajang: 62.5 cm | 1920

Magoja | National Folk Museum of Korea

by men over their jackets. However, in some late Joseon photographs a number of men can be seen wearing magoja over their coats, so it seems there were no set rules as to how it was worn. It is said that women's magoja were popularly worn in the Kaesong region, and in general it was more commonly worn in the central and northern parts of Korea to pass the cold winter than in the southern regions. For style, however, magoja were also worn in spring and autumn. A women's magoja made with thin silk in the collection of Korea University Museum supports this fact. Children's magoja were made with colorful striped sleeves.

Modern boys

모던보이
Modern boys

Men who led the consumer culture of Gyeong-seong (today's Seoul) in the 1920s and 1930s and expressed their identity by dressing in Western style, and through their pastimes, language, and way of thinking.

A 1930s Korean dictionary defines the borrowed word “modeon” (Kor. 모던) as “new” or “modern.” “Modern girl” means “new woman” or “modern woman,” while “modern boy” means exactly that, a modern man,

New women and modern boys, who were educated during the enlightenment period and exposed to Western culture, responded quickly to the consumer life and trends of modern cities

and enjoyed the so-called “modern life.” Fashion was the primary factor that distinguished modern girls and modern boys from others. They liked to wear short skirts, small parasols, horn-rimmed glasses, and pork-pie hats. However, jeweled rings, gold watches and small parasols, which were neither practical nor necessary, created a sense of incompatibility. Modern boys were considered decadent for wearing a suit and tie that did not match or wearing makeup and exposing their chests and were hence a target of criticism.

Modern boys wore white shoes and modern girls wore high heels. But as a pair of such shoes cost eight or nine won at the time, almost a month's wages, they were considered a luxury. Watches, the representative product of modernization, were not just plain watches or gold watches; specific brands such as Britain's Benson, Bennett, Faseck, International, and Longines, as well as America's Waltham, Elgin,



Modern boys taking a walk | February 7, 1928 | Chosun Ilbo

Habad, and Hamilton began to appear. In order to encourage consumption throughout the country, expositions were held and so-called “mannequin girls” were imported from Japan to promote modern products. Koreans gathered to see them and tried to imitate them.

Western culture also gave Koreans new standards of beauty but the nature of exchange value in these new standards also gave rise to strong rejection. Modern girls and modern boys revealed their identity through their new Western-style dress, pastimes, language, and rituals, and the new trends led by modern boys formed a subculture. There was no negative meaning in the actual words, but it was an era when the terms “modern boys” or “modern girls” not only contained contempt and ridicule but were also understood to mean bad girls or bad boys. In cartoons of the 1920s and 1930s, the depiction of modern girls and modern boys was satirical but well represented the situation of the time.

Modern girls

모던걸

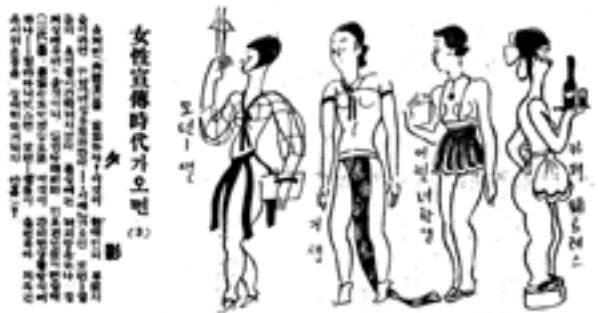
Modern girls

Women who led the consumer culture of Gyeongseong (today's Seoul) in the 1920s and 1930s and expressed their identity by dressing in Western style, and through their pastimes, language, and way of thinking.

The modern education of women, which came about with active nationalist movements from 1920, led women to participate in society and the emergence of the so-called “new woman.” This new woman was generally someone who



Modern girl (Peacock spreading its tail feathers) | February 9, 1928
| Chosun Ilbo



If the day comes when women are engaged in promotional activities | February 7, 1928 | Chosun Ilbo

had studied overseas and was a fashion leader. She naturally mixed traditional and new styles, even wearing Western ornaments with *hanbok*, bringing radical changes to modern fashion. In the 1920s, an outfit of high heels with short hair, white *jeogori*, short skirt, parasol and hand-bag was symbolic of the new woman. The modern girls are depicted as wearing Western-style accessories and modified *hanbok*, but this is not so different from the typical new woman's attire that was established in the early 1920s.



Gisaeng (female entertainer) Im Chunhong in a photo postcard | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea

As it was not easy to find a group of economically independent women who were completely dressed in Western-style in Gyeongseong in the late 1920s, Korean intellectuals defined all women who walked along the main streets with their hair swept back into a bun, wearing high-heel shoes and carrying a parasol as modern girls. This is why the term “modern girls” was used with multiple implications over time.

Those collectively named “modern girls” were also depicted as “bad girls,” that is, women who were morally bad. They were criticized by the media for ostensibly pursuing Western appearance, pastimes and lifestyles, and reversing the gender order. They responded quickly to fashion and style trends and were bold in speech and action, caring little about how they looked in the eyes of others. In the 1920s, new women and schoolgirls were criticized for vanity and extravagance, and in the 1930s, they were often criticized for wasteful consumption.

Saenghwal hanbok

생활한복 生活韓服

Modernized hanbok for everyday wear

Hanbok made for everyday wear from the 1980s, developed from modified hanbok (*gaeryang hanbok*).

Tradition is not simply the recreation or imitation of things of the past but a process of continual change to give birth to new traditions that become established as the culture of today. Such changes to tradition are only possible when those things considered to be traditional elements remain. Modern traditional *hanbok* is based in



Clothing for New Year's Day | 20th century | Urideului beot



Quilted *durmagi* coat and pleated skirt | 20th century | Dolsilnai

the form of *hanbok* of the late Joseon Dynasty and is mainly worn on formal occasions. In contrast, saenghwal hanbok is worn in diverse ways in everyday life, as both daily attire and formal attire. While modified *hanbok* (*gaeryang hanbok*) pursued external changes for ease of movement, functionality and economy, saenghwal hanbok pursued individuality through the meeting of traditional and modern beauty.

Sokchima

속치마

Petticoat, underskirt

An underskirt, or petticoat, with back seam that is worn under the outer skirt.

With the opening of Korea's ports, women's attire began to change with a focus on comfort, which led to longer jackets and shorter skirts. When knit fabric undershirts were introduced

to Korea in the 1920s traditional undergarments, worn layer upon layer, disappeared. Appearing in place of the drawers worn under the skirt was the sokchima (underskirt) with no openings. It was made a little shorter and less full than the outer skirt. All panels of the underskirt were sewn together so that there was no opening and a waistband was attached.

When the so-called "new woman" became active in society she chose to wear a shorter skirt for ease of movement, and instead of the multiple layers of undergarments (*sokgot*, *sokbaji*, *dansokgot*) she came to wear a modified version of drawers (*gojaengi*) and a simplified underskirt with shoulder straps (*eokkaeheori*). The skirt with bodice (*jokkiheori*) came to be worn when in 1912 Miss Walter, who later became headmistress of Ewha Hakdang (predecessor to Ewha Womans University), recommended that her students wear a skirt with bodice attached for comfort and hygiene reasons. This type of garment spread among Korean women, who came to wear it not only as an underskirt but also as an outer garment.



Sokchima, petticoat |
Length: 95 cm, Waist: 93 cm |
Post liberation



Silk petticoat worn by
King Yeongchin's consort |
Length: 89 cm, Waist: 87 cm |
Modern era



Sokchima, petticoat |
Length 118 cm, Chest: 43 cm | 1950s

This new type of underskirt was also called *tongchima*, which means a skirt that is closed rather than being a wrap skirt like the traditional *hanbok* skirt. The fullness of the underskirt and interval of the pleats followed the silhouette of the outer skirt. The waistband was wider than that of the outer skirt and in the case of underskirt with bodice, the bodice part was some 3-5 cm longer than the outer jacket. This was done to ensure that the pleats of the outer skirt showing below the jacket would not come loose but sit neatly. The bodice of the underskirt was made with a fabric with low elasticity, such as calico, to keep the chest neat and tight and the pattern was cut in the direction of the selvage (along the lengthwise grain).

The underskirt with shoulder straps was in most cases unlined and pleated with an inner band placed at the waistband and the vent in the center front was neatly finished with a closing band. It was around 3-5 cm shorter than the outer skirt so that it would not show and had a vent in the center around 20 cm long to make it easy to put on and take off. The width of the skirt depended on the width of the cloth used, but the finished skirt was generally within 200 cm wide (spread out) with the seam at the back. The pleats were placed at larger intervals than on the outer skirt and the fabric used was usually white cotton or artificial silk. However, many of the underskirts that have been handed down are colored, so it seems the color varied according to the color of the outer skirt or fabric.

Tongchima

통치마

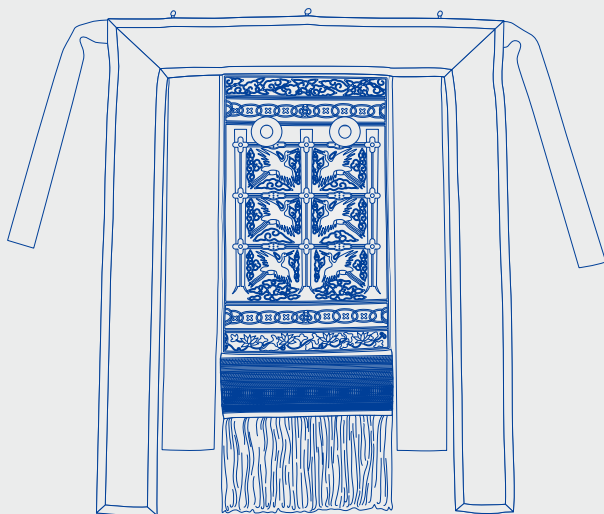
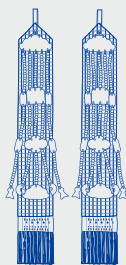
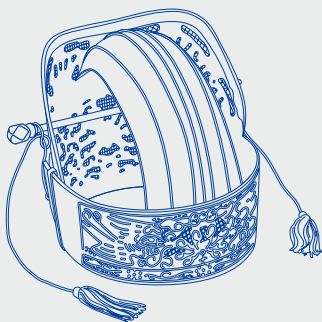
Skirt with no vents or openings

A skirt with no vents or openings.

The tongchima was made by applying Western elements to the traditional wrap skirt. That is, the length was shortened and the ends of the wrap skirt were sewn together to make a closed skirt. The tongchima is the outcome of the modernization of Korean clothing, which began in the early 20th century when foreign culture was introduced to Korea and people began to visit other countries. It was a compromise between traditional and Western clothing with the edges of the traditional wrap skirt sewn together and a bodice added. The tongchima became widespread when girls' schools adopted it as their school uniform and in the 1920s it became the symbol of both the schoolgirl and the "new woman." Women with a conservative outlook wore the tongchima only as a petticoat. Toward the end of the Japanese colonial period, during the Pacific War, all women were forced to change their traditional skirts for tongchima. Then when the Korean government was being established after liberation from Japanese rule, women were encouraged to wear tongchima as part of an effort to reform costume. Until the 1960s the tongchima was mostly worn by young women and from the 1980s Western-style clothing prevailed.

Sets of attire

일습



Baegirot

백일옷

Clothes for a baby's 100th day after birth

Clothes worn by a newborn baby on the 100th day after birth.

Regardless of sex, newborn babies were usually dressed in clean white clothes, though there have been examples showing that babies were sometimes dressed in clothes colored pale blue-green, sky blue or pink. Unlike *baenaetjeogori*, the first garment worn by a newborn baby, the jacket (*jeogori*) prepared for the baby's 100th day has a collar and overlapping front panel like an adult's jacket. But as babies only 100 days old move unnaturally and their diapers have to be changed often, a sash is attached to the outer collar and tied around the waist so that the jacket does not open or come off. Newborn babies were often dressed in *punchabaji*, pants with an opening at the crotch, to make changing diapers easy. However, in most cases, babies were dressed in long jackets that fully covered the lower half of the body.



White jacket and pants | Jacket Length: 33 cm, Chest: 28 cm, Hwajang: 33 cm, Pants Length: 43 cm, Waist: 55 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea

In Korean culture, one hundred is considered the perfect number and at the same time a very big number. On the 100th day after birth, babies were dressed in clothes made by sewing one hundred pieces of fabric together or clothes quilted with one hundred strips, showing the maker's love and devotion. People believed that if baegirot were made with clothes worn by a person who had lived a long life, the baby wearing those clothes would also live a long time. For this reason, families with only a few children used to make jackets with old clothes worn by elder members of the family.

Dolbok

돌복

Clothes for a baby's first birthday

Attire that babies wear on their first birthday, representing wishes for a long life.

The dolbok varied greatly according to the family's economic circumstances. In general, however, it was a colorful costume complete with hat and shoes, the girls' clothes distinguished from the boys' clothes.

In many cases the dolbok was decorated with designs symbolizing longevity and good fortune or geometric designs composed of the Chinese characters *a* (亞) or *man* (卍), the swastika. These designs representing wishes for longevity, good fortune, and wealth and honor are rooted in belief in the efficacy of praying for good fortune. They were embroidered in colorful threads or stamped with gold leaf.

The basic colors used for clothing to celebrate a baby's first birthday were the five colors

of the five directions (*obangsaek*) – blue, red, yellow, white and black. The jacket worn for the first birthday ceremony had striped sleeves in the five colors but black was replaced with blackish blue or crimson. The use of colorful stripes (*saekdong*) on the baby's clothes was based on belief in yin and yang and the five elements and was designed to protect the baby from all bad things and pray for the baby's health and longevity.



Clothes and table setting for celebration of the baby's first birthday
| 1937 | Kim Yeong-jun



Chodogwanhui | Detail from *Pyeongsaengdo* (Life Course Painting) |
18th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

Varied colors were used on dolbok not only for visual effect; they had a conceptual meaning as well as representing prayers for the child's longevity and good fortune. As such the colors enhanced the significance and function of dolbok as ritual costume.

The most noticeable part of dolbok would have to be the colorfully striped sleeves on the jacket (*jeogori*), which are both beautiful and practical. The sleeves were usually made by sewing together carefully stored scraps of cloth leftover from making other clothes, which makes the jacket a very economical garment. When making a child's overcoat of five colors, called *obangjang durumagi*, colors other than the five basic colors were sometimes used and it is thought cloth scraps would have also been used for some of the smaller details.

Ginyeobok

기녀복 妓女服

Clothes worn by ginyeo

Clothing worn by *ginyeo* (professional female entertainers).

Ginyeobok (Kor. 기녀복, Chin. 妓女服) did not differ significantly from the clothes of ordinary women. However, due to the distinct nature of their profession and social standing, *ginyeo* wore garments that differed in material, length, silhouette, and the materials used for ornaments. The *ginyeo* set women's clothing trends of the time because of their unique social standing. High-level female entertainers of the Joseon Dynasty were particularly good at writing poetry, calligraphy, singing and dancing, despite their



Ginyeobok | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea



Alleung sinyeongdo (Ginyeobok) | Detail from *Alleung sinyeongdo* | attributed to Kim Hongdo | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Museum of Korea



Cheongrusoil by Shin Yunbok (Ginyeobok) | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation

low social standing, and could afford luxurious clothing thanks to the patronage of scholar-officials. Given the nickname *hae-eobwa* (Kor. 해어화, Chin. 解語花), meaning “speaking flower, they had a more powerful influence on Joseon’s fashion trends than upper class women.

In order to maximize their sexual appeal, *ginyeo* would expose their undergarments, exaggerate their silhouette, or adorn themselves with fancy materials and ornaments that were generally prohibited. Such tendencies were particularly pronounced in the latter late Joseon Dynasty when the Confucian social order began to break down and people sought a more liberal lifestyle.

Gungnyeobok

궁녀복 宮女服
Court lady's clothing

Clothes worn by court ladies in charge of serving the royal family during rites and everyday work in the palace.

The work of the court ladies, called *gungnyeo*, was divided into two types: rites and routine work. When court rites were conducted, court ladies wore different clothes and were addressed differently according to the tasks they had to handle. For ordinary days, they were also dressed differently according to the work they assumed.



Court ladies' attire | Detail from *Hwajeong neunghaengdo* by Jeong Seon (Folding Screen of the Royal Procession to the Ancestral Tomb in Hwaseong) | National Palace Museum of Korea



Court ladies' attire | Detail from Folding Screen of Court Banquet Held in the Sinchuk Year | National Palace Museum of Korea



Court ladies' attire | Detail from *Musinnyeong jinchoendo* (Court Banquet held in the Musin Year) | National Museum of Korea



Parade of protesting court ladies around Wangbiyeon | Japanese colonial period

Court ladies had a rigid hierarchical system based on which part of the palace to which they belonged and the number of years they had served in the royal court. There was a clear distinction between *yangban* (nobility) and commoners in Joseon society. The same was true among court ladies, whose tasks were strictly distinguished and whose clothes also differed according to their affiliation. According to the hierarchy, court ladies were classified as junior court lady (*sonyeo nain*), court lady (*nain*), and senior court lady (*sanggun*), based on how long they had lived at the palace. As in the world of men in Joseon, where official hats differed based on their social status and the rites they participated in, court ladies wore different hairstyles based on their status and rites.

Court ladies working at the royal bedchambers (*jimil*) and junior court ladies attached to government offices showed their affiliation with their hair done in the *saeangmori* style; junior court ladies attached to the palace living quarters wore braids, and junior court ladies belonging to the royal laundry (Sedapbang) wore a chignon. After 15 years in the palace, court ladies went through their coming-of-age ceremony and put their hair up, a hairstyle that did not reveal their affiliation in the palace. However, female servants called *bija*⁵⁶ wore their hair in a round bun, which distinguished them from the court ladies in terms of social standing. *Sanggun*, an official title of the senior fifth rank, was the highest position attainable for a court lady. They wore *cheopji*, an ornamental hairpin, in the shape of a silver frog with a gold head and tail, which distinguished them from ordinary court ladies. The dark blue skirt was worn not only by court ladies but also royal women and hence was a symbol of palace women.

According to the division of tasks for royal

events, the appellation and duties of court ladies differed. At *garye* (royal weddings), *johyeonrye* (a rite where the queen or crown princess had an audience with senior royal ladies after her wedding), *myohyeonrye* (a rite where the crown princess visits Jongmyo, the royal ancestral shrine), and court banquets such as *jinjak*, *jinyeon*,⁵⁷ *jinchan*, and *boejak*,⁵⁸ court ladies called *jimil* served the emperor, grand empress dowager, the empress dowager, the empress, the crown prince, and the crown princess. Their specific tasks were guiding, escorting, guarding, and helping during ritual services, follow-up escorting, informing or asking the king to do something, or giving directions to royal family members to perform certain tasks during a rite. From *sanggung* of the senior fifth rank to *gungnyeo* of the junior eighth rank, court ladies wore the *eoyeomi*⁵⁹ hairstyle in accordance with the division of tasks, along with *nokwonsam* (green ceremonial robe). Court ladies lower in the hierarchy, including *yeojipsa* and *chibiyeoryeong*,⁶⁰ wore *garima* (flat headdress) and *dangui* (ceremonial upper garment). When the court ladies wore ceremonial costume, they all wore an undergarment called *utchima* (*sangsang*).

56. Female servant.

57. A court banquet held for celebration of a joyous occasion. (Daum dictionary)

58. A party held on the second day of *jinyeon* (royal banquet).

59. *Eoyeomi* is another name for *eoyeomeori* (*Gache* worn with *jokduri* and other hair ornaments) and was also known as a hairstyle for royal and noble women who lived outside the palace.

60. *Yeoryeong* refers to a court lady who carries the ritual flag during court banquets (*jinyeon*), while *chabiyeoryeong* refers to a lady on temporary duty.

Gwallyebok

관례복 冠禮服

Clothes worn by a boy at his coming-of-age ceremony

Attire worn by boys at their coming-of-age ceremony.

As indicated by the term *gwallye* (Kor. 관례 Chin. 冠禮 lit. hat wearing rite), the hat rite formed the main part of Korea's traditional coming-of-age ceremony. For the ceremony, boys put their hair up in a topknot and on top of it wore a hat such as a hood (*bokgeon*), headscarf (*dugeon*), or *gat* (traditional formal hat). In traditional Korean society, wearing a hat signified the transition from boy to man. The coming-of-age ceremony was usually held between the ages of 15 and 20. During the ceremony boys changed their hat and clothes three times, thereby signifying the passage to adulthood and assuming responsibility as a member of society.

The meaning of changing clothes is related to the congratulatory message delivered at the three stages of the ceremony. In *sigarye*, the rite where the first hat is placed on the boy's head, the congratulatory message was read out as follows: "Now that you are wearing this hat for the first time cast aside your child-like mind, seek mature virtue and live a long life with many blessings." Changing out of children's clothes into the Confucian scholar's robe, *simui*, meant that the wearer vowed to conduct himself properly as an adult. During the second rite, called *jaegarye*, the following message was recited: "Now that another hat is being placed on your head you should behave prudently and cultivate virtue, which in turn will bring long life and happiness." At this stage *josam* was worn,



Sigarye, one of the rites in the boy's coming-of-age ceremony



Jaegarye, one of the rites in the boy's coming-of-age ceremony

Gwallyebok | Andong, Gyeongbuk | 1992 | Kim Sisang

Gyeryebok

계례복 笄禮服

Clothes worn by a girl at her coming of age ceremony

Attire worn by girls at their coming-of-age ceremony.

Gyerye (Kor. 계례, Chin. 笄禮, lit. *binyeo* ritual) is the term for a girl's coming-of-age ceremony, when she puts her hair up and wears an ornamental hair pin called *binyeo* for the first time. When a girl was to be married she would go through the ritual of undoing her braided ponytail tied with a ribbon, then putting her hair up in a chignon and securing it with a *binyeo*. Even if they were not about to be married, girls 15-20 years old went through this ceremony in preparation for marriage. Putting a coronet on the head and a *binyeo* in the chignon represented passage from the world of children to the world of adults and fulfilling one's role as a member of society while bearing the responsibilities of an adult. In this sense, *gyerye* is the same as the boy's coming-of-age ceremony called *gwallye*. While the *gyerye* ceremony was rather simple, focused on putting up the hair and securing it with a hair pin, *gwallye* involved three changes of clothes and hats.

The coming-of-age ceremony for boys and for girls differed not only in form but also in their ceremonial attire and headgear. The girl undertaking the ceremony was called *janggyeja* (Kor. 장계자, Chin. 將笄者, lit. person waiting to take the *gyerye*). Dressed in an everyday upper garment reaching to the knees called *samja* (*dangui*), the girl would go to the *daecheong* hall in her home with her hair in a long braid, and an attendant would untie the hair and brush it.

similar to *heukdallyeong* (black official's robe), to show due courtesy for the formality of the occasion. During the last stage, *samgarye*, the following was recited: "By changing hats three times, human virtue is finally attained. Heaven will reward you with long life and happiness." During the final ceremony, *bokdu* (ritual cap) and *nansam* (Confucian scholar's robe) were worn, representing ceremonial costume. The reason for changing hats and clothes three times lay in the idea that one must first achieve fundamental virtue as a man to serve the king, and only after serving the king can one properly serve god, which represents three stages toward becoming a true adult.

After a congratulatory address by the officiant, a coronet (*hwagwan* or *jokduri*) was placed on her head and a *binyeo* was fixed in her chignon. The girl then went inside to put on a sleeveless garment called *baeja* (Kor. 배자, Chin. 背子, lit. back). Made of colored silk, it was the same length as the skirt and had an open front and short sleeves or no sleeves. *Gwangnyeram*⁶¹ (Kor. 광례람, Chin. 廣禮覽), a book on family rituals, lists the essential elements of the *gyerye* ceremony: chignon, *jokduri*, *binyeo*, realgar for the hair,⁶² *jeogori* (jacket), *hongsang* (Kor. 홍상, Chin. 紅裳, lit. red skirt) and *norigae*, which is an ornamental pendant. As this record shows, the bride's *gyerye* costume consisted of a red skirt and jacket.

Unlike the male coming-of-age ceremony, *gwallye*, which involved three changes of clothes into official's robes according to the rules of *samgarye* (Kor. 삼가례, Chin. 三加禮, lit. three added rites), the female ceremony involved only one procedure of placing the coronet on the head and the *binyeo* in the hair and therefore only one outfit. The meaning of *gyerye* is mentioned in the congratulatory address, which is the same as that of *sigarye*, the first rite of the male coming-of-age ceremony: "As you are wearing this hat for the first time, put aside the thoughts of childhood to follow adult virtues and live a long life filled with good fortune."

61. Book of rites written by a man who used the penname Susan.

62. Ornamental stone, called *seogunghwang* in Korean.



Coming-of-age ceremony | Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 1992 | Kim Sisang



Gyeryebok | Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 1992 | Kim Sisang

Haenyeobok

해녀복 海女服

Women diver's suit

Work clothes worn by women divers of Jeju Island when collecting seafood from the ocean.

Also called *mulsojunggi*, the clothing traditionally worn by the women divers when working consists of an unlined jacket, a one-piece suit called *momtong*, and straps over the shoulders and at the side. The *momtong* is a short one-piece garment covering the chest and the bottom while exposing the arms and legs. There are two types, one with a thin strap over just one shoulder and

the other with two straps over both shoulders like a bodice or vest. The one-strap version is the earlier one.

As to the origin of *haenyeobok*, the elders of the island say, "The suit was devised when the Japanese pirates kept appearing and raping [the divers]." As the Japanese pirates frequently invaded the island from the late Goryeo through early Joseon period and continued to appear afterwards it seems that the *haenyeo*, or women divers of Jeju, wore a diving suit from that time.

The status of clothing depends on who, when, what, and how it is made. Overall the *mulsojunggi* is a work outfit, worn by the lowest class according to the norms of the class system dividing the high from the low. However, it was the most scientific and rational outfit, the finest underwater diving suit that could come out of the island at the time, which was self-sufficient in most things. The suits were generally made by the women who wore them, making use of periods of rest at the work site. The clothes reflect the fact that time was most precious for these women divers of fishing villages, whose lives were hard despite their farming to supplement fishing. Dressed in the *mulsojunggi*, diving was tough and very cold work and they worked for around 30 minutes before coming out of the water. When they came out they would gather around a stone fireplace by the shore, called *bul-teok*, and make the diving suits as they warmed their bodies for a short while. They made their own clothes because the cutting and needlework did not require any special skills, and they knew their size and body shape better than anyone else and were able to try the suits on as they worked in order to fix any weak points that they noticed. Moreover, there was the underlying modesty and belief that it would be shameful to have someone else make the suits, which were



Sojunggi, Jeju women diver's undergarment | Length: 74 cm |
Modern era | Haenyeo Museum

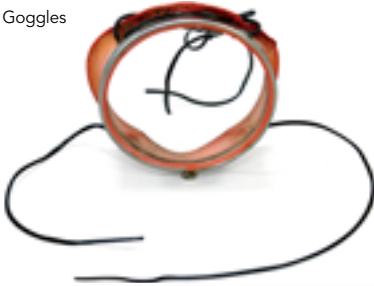


Mulsojunggi, Jeju women diver's suit | Length: 49 cm, Waist: 72 cm |
Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea



Muljeoksam, Jeju women diver's under jacket | Length: 35 cm,
Chest: 44 cm, Hwajang: 69 cm | Post liberation | National Folk
Museum of Korea

Wangnun, Goggles



Joksenun,
Goggles worn by Jeju women divers
Length: 12.5 cm, Width: 4.5 cm



Tewangmangsari,
Floatation device used by Jeju women divers
Length: 81 cm



Gomuot, Rubber wetsuit



not good clothes but trifling work clothes.

The fabric used was homespun cotton (*mumyeong*). This was an easily available material as every home made its own, and it was also the most common and everyday material. The *mulsojungi* took up six *ja* of cloth (about 180 cm), while the *sojungi*, an undergarment that did not cover the chest and was not worn in the water, took up four *ja* (about 120 cm). When cutting cotton or hemp for clothes it was common practice to use the entire width of the cloth. This represents the wisdom of knowing the nature of the material well and how to use it; it is how the finest works were made. This method is also all the more amazing because it leaves very little scrap cloth. From the mid-1900s a shift was made to machine-made fabric and calico (*gwangmok*).

For measurements, instead of the *ja* the divers used their arms, hands and fingers. The

length of the finger was called *ppyecom* and the length between the first and second fingers *jori*.

In the early 1970s the traditional diving suit was replaced with a rubber wetsuit. Although all the clothing and equipment used by the women divers of Jeju has been modernized, everything is made of synthetic materials. The introduction of the wetsuit enabled divers to extend their time in the water from a 30-minute limit to six hours. This helped them to increase their earnings but also led to many illnesses. The divers especially suffer from back pain caused by the heavy lead weight that hangs around the waist, while the smell of rubber causes headache, nausea and skin troubles.

Because the women divers of Jeju Island used to farm as well as fish for a living, girls with diverse skills were once considered the best potential wives. For the women of seaside villages, their hardy bodies were once their most valuable asset, making the *mulsojungi* a valuable resource for the women of Jeju Island.



Haenyeo, women divers of Jeju Island | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea



Haenyeo diving to look for seafood | Jeju | 2013 | Haenyeo Museum

Hollyebok

혼례복 婚禮服

Wedding clothes

Wedding attire worn by the bride and groom.

The traditional Korean hollyebok (Kor. 혼례복, Chin. 婚禮服, lit. marriage ritual clothing) consists of official's uniform for the groom, which was called *samogwandae*, meaning official's hat, robe and belt, and the *wonsam* or *hwarot* ceremonial robe for the bride. But with the opening of ports and the introduction of Western culture to Korea new-style weddings were held with

the groom dressed in formal Western attire and the bride in a white traditional hanbok with a veil on the head. After liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945 new-style weddings rapidly increased. From the latter half of the 20th century more brides began to wear Western-style wedding dresses and from the 1970s and 1980s it can be said that all couples chose to wear Western-style formal attire for their weddings. It became common practice to wear traditional wedding clothes only for the *pyebaek* ceremony after the wedding, when the bride formally greets her parents-in-law.

As the wedding is one of the most important events in a person's life, in the past and present it is an occasion for wearing the finest and most beautiful clothes possible. There are no concrete details on what kind of wedding clothing was worn during the Three Kingdoms period and Goryeo Dynasty, or even in the early Joseon period. But in the strict class society of Joseon there were differences in wedding attire according to social status.

In the royal court a wedding is called *garye* and the clothes worn were determined not only by the wearer's status but according to the particular procedure in the wedding ceremony. In the late Joseon Dynasty, in ordinary homes the wedding was simplified to suit Korean circumstances and came to consist of four procedures, but royal weddings strictly adhered to the custom of six procedures, or rites. The costume that had to be worn for each procedure was not the same for all weddings but royal wedding attire can be examined taking the wedding of King Sukjong and Queen Inhyeon as an example.

For this wedding, there were four procedures in which the king was required to wear *beopbok*, the highest ceremonial robe: *napchaeui* (Kor. 납채, Chin. 納采儀), sending a formal proposal

letter to the bride; *gogiui* (Kor. 고기의, Chin. 告期儀), informing the bride's family of the wedding date; *chinyeongui* (Kor. 친영의, Chin. 親迎儀), going to the bride's home to bring her to the wedding; and *dongnoeui* (Kor. 동뢰의, Chin. 同牢儀), bride and groom exchanging bows and exchanging cups of liquor. The *wonyugwan* hat and *gangsapo* robe were worn for two procedures: *napjing* (Kor. 납징, Chin. 納徵), sending wedding gifts to the bride's family; and *chaekbiui* (Kor. 책비의, Chin. 冊妃儀), when the bride was proclaimed to be the consort of the king. In contrast, in what can be called two of the most important procedures of the wedding, going to bring the bride to the wedding and exchanging cups of liquor, the king wore ceremonial robes. After *dongnoeui*, the king changed out of his ceremonial robes and put on *gollyongpo*, his everyday royal robe. In other words, at the wedding the king changed out of ceremonial robes into everyday clothes. The bride's attire is recorded for three procedures: the *chaekbiui*, *chinyeongui* and *dongnoeui*. This is when the queen wore the ceremonial robe *jeogui* and decorated her hair with a variety of hairpins.

In the wedding of the crown prince, the crown prince and his consort dressed in the same way as the king and queen at their wedding. However, the ceremonial robes worn by the king and crown prince had different decorative designs and ornamentation while the *jeogui* worn by the queen and crown princess differed in color and decorative designs.

In the case of princes other than the crown prince, and princesses, their wedding attire also differed from the clothes worn in ruling class homes. Princes and royal sons-in-law dressed in the official's robe *dallyeong* (with a round collar) and *bokdu* hat. It is recorded that princesses, both those born of the queen consort (*gongju*)

and those born of concubines (*ongju*) and other women of the royal family wore red ceremonial robes called *noui* or *hongjangsam*. Also, concubines with the title *sugui* wore red ceremonial robes such as *noui* or a lined *hongjangsam*.

For their wedding day only, ordinary people were allowed to wear garments above their social standing. That is, the bride and groom were permitted to wear the same garments as the princess and the royal son-in-law, even if the groom did not have a government position.

Traditional wedding attire consisted of *samogwandae* (Kor. 사모관대, Chin. 紗帽冠帶) for grooms and *harot* and *hwagwan* or *wonsam* and *jokduri* for brides. *Samogwandae* refers to the uniform of Joseon government officials. It consisted of a *samo* (Kor. 사모, Chin. 紗帽, black gauze hat), *dallyeong* (Kor. 단령, Chin. 團領) and black boots called *mokhwa* (Kor. 목화, Chin. 木靴). In the case of officials, the robe had a *hyungbae* (Kor. 흥배, Chin. 胸背), or rank badge, on the chest and back and he wore a belt according to rank. Ordinary grooms, however, always wore a rank badge and *gakdae* (belt) also, whether or not they were government officials. When the groom entered the *choryecheong*, the space where the wedding was to be held, he held in both hands a *saseon* (Kor. 사선, Chin. 紗扇), a square fan with two handles, to cover his face. Traditional wedding attire for brides was called *noguihongsang* (Kor. 녹의홍상, Chin. 綠衣紅裳, lit. green top and red skirt), and consisted of a crimson skirt and either a green or yellow *jeogori* (top) over a pink inner garment. The bride also wore either a *hwarot* (bridal robe) or *wonsam* (ceremonial robe) on top and a coronet called *hwagwan* (Kor. 화관, Chin. 花冠, flower crown) or a *wonsam* (ceremonial robe) and *jokduri* coronet. While the crimson skirt was a staple, the color of the *jeogori*, whether yellow or

green, type of robe, and type of headpiece (*jokduri* or *hwagwan*) differed in each family.

For the common people, it was difficult to prepare even one of these wedding garments, but among the upper class extravagant spending on wedding attire was rife and thus the cause of controversy. Some prepared both types of wedding robes, one to wear for the *chinyeong* ceremony and one for *hyeongugo* (Kor. 현구고, Chin. 見舅姑) when the bride formally greeted her in-laws after the wedding. According to old texts such as *Sarye pyeollam* (Kor. 사례편람, Chin. 四禮便覽, Eng. Easy Manual for the Four Rites) and *Jeungbo sarye pyeollam* (Augmented Easy Manual for the Four Rites), the *wonsam* and *hwarot* were the usual wedding robes worn by the bride. *Hyeonto jubae sarye pyeollam* (annotated commentary to *Sarye pyeollam*) says that the bride wore *hwarot* for the actual wedding ceremony and greeting the in-laws afterwards, and then changed into a *nogui*, a ceremonial upper garment also known as *dangui*.

Whatever the bride wore, one thing that she could not overlook on her wedding day was her makeup. The bride powdered her face, put rouge on her lips, and put a red rouge spot on her cheeks and forehead. She either wore a *gache* (Kor. 가채, Chin. 加髻), a big wig made of braided hair, or put her hair up in a chignon and fixed it with a *binyeo* (ornamental hairpin) adorned with a dragon ornament or plum blossom and bamboo ornament. A ribbon was attached to either side of the *binyeo*, and a *jokduri* or *hwagwan* was placed on top of the head with a long ribbon hanging down from the headpiece. For the actual wedding ceremony, in some cases, the bride wore her hair in the style known as *nangja ssangye* (Kor. 난자쌍계, Chin. 娘子雙髻), which consisted of two high braids tied on top of the head, or on top of the head



Japanese colonial period



1933 | National Folk Museum of Korea



1941 | National Folk Museum of Korea



1962 | National Folk Museum of Korea

Wedding clothes



Wedding clothes | 1961 | Choe Eunsu

and below, and put her hair in a chignon after the first night. The bride was prevented from opening her eyes too wide during the wedding by having a pomade of honey and sesame oil applied on her eyelashes.

The bride's wedding garments were often sent by the groom's family, but at times they were provided by the bride's family or borrowed from a communal village collection. The representative bridal robe was *wonsam*, especially the green *wonsam*, which was traditionally the ceremonial dress of princesses. It came down below the knees and was shorter in the front than in the back. The sides were slit and had no gores. The sleeves were very wide with white or colorfully striped sleeve ends and white *hansam* (Kor. 한삼, Chin. 汗衫), sleeve extensions that

completely covered the hands. There was no overlapping panel at the front, which means the front edges lay adjacent to each other; the garment was closed with silver or enamel buttons, or with short chest ties. *Wonsam* worn by women of the royal court were large in size and lavish, made with gold brocade and elaborately decorated with gold leaf, whereas the ones worn by commoners as bridal wear were modest in size and material, but the sleeves were elaborately decorated with stripes of many colors. The way *wonsam* was made varied widely depending on household and region. Some were the same length front and back and some had a red collar instead of a green one. When worn for a wedding, the *wonsam* was worn with a coronet called *jokduri*.

Another type of bridal robe was the *hwarot*, made with deep red fabric and adorned with embroidery. Similar in form to the *wonsam*, it was longer in the back than the front, the sides were slit and had no gores, and the front edges were adjacent to each other. The embroidered designs represented good fortune and longevity such as waves, rocks, mushroom of immortality, nine peaks, butterflies, peonies and young boys. Also, auspicious characters were embroidered such as *iseongjihap* (Kor. 이성지합, Chin. 二姓之合, lit. unification of two different names), *manbokjiwon* (Kor. 만복지원, Chin. 萬福之原, lit. root of ten thousand good fortunes), *suyeosan* (Kor. 수여산, Chin. 壽如山, lit. long life like the mountains), and *buyeohae* (Kor. 부여해, Chin. 富如海, lit. abundant as the ocean). The back was more heavily embroidered than the front. It was worn with the *hwagwan* coronet. The *hwarot* originates in the red ceremonial robe *hongjangsam*, which was worn by princesses and the consorts of princes. Garments such as the *hawui* (華衣, 花衣,) and *hwari* (豁衣) mentioned in records are considered to be Chinese-character versions of the name *hwarot*, which is a compound of *hwal* meaning “big” and *ot* meaning “clothing.” Both the *wonsam* and *hwarot* were worn with long sleeve extensions and a red decorative sash (*daedae*).

Aside from these garments, varied wedding attire was worn according to region and family customs. In the Pyongyang region, the bride wore *wonsam* for the wedding ceremony but changed into jacket and skirt and fur-trimmed vest for the banquet afterwards. She wore sleeve extensions over the hands, *hwagwan* on the head and a double-strand ribbon. The *wonsam* worn in the Kaesong region was decorated with a red strip around the hem and the sleeves and the ribbon was not a big red ribbon but a pearl

decorated ribbon.

After Korea opened its ports to foreign trade, Western wedding customs were introduced and spread among the intelligentsia and Christians in the big cities. Grooms began wearing tailcoats while brides wore a white *jeogori* and skirt with a veil over the face, which was a blend of traditional and modern bridal attire. But during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953) and the aftermath, people could not afford formal wedding attire due to dire economic conditions, and in many cases, brides had to make do with a skirt and *jeogori* and a cloth covering the hands instead of sleeve extensions.

Under the influence of urbanization and economic development, from the 1960s, traditional wedding ceremonies began to decline and modern weddings held at wedding halls (*yesikjang*) became widespread in the big cities. Grooms wore suits and brides wedding dresses. But until the 1970s, traditional weddings were still held in rural areas with the bride wearing a white skirt and *jeogori*. From the latter half of the 20th century, even fewer people wore traditional wedding attire, and the only traditional clothes that people prepared were a pink *hanbok* for the bride for the engagement ceremony and *hanbok* for the bride and groom to change into after the wedding ceremony. From the mid-20th century, it became customary for grooms to wear a suit and brides a pink skirt and *jeogori* at engagement ceremonies. After holding the wedding in Western attire, the *pyebaek* ceremony (Kor. 폐백, Chin. 幣帛, bride's formal greetings to her parents-in-law by making a deep bow) took place in a separate room prepared at the wedding venue.

Jebok

제복 祭服

Ritual attire

Ritual attire worn when conducting ancestral memorial rites (*jesa*).

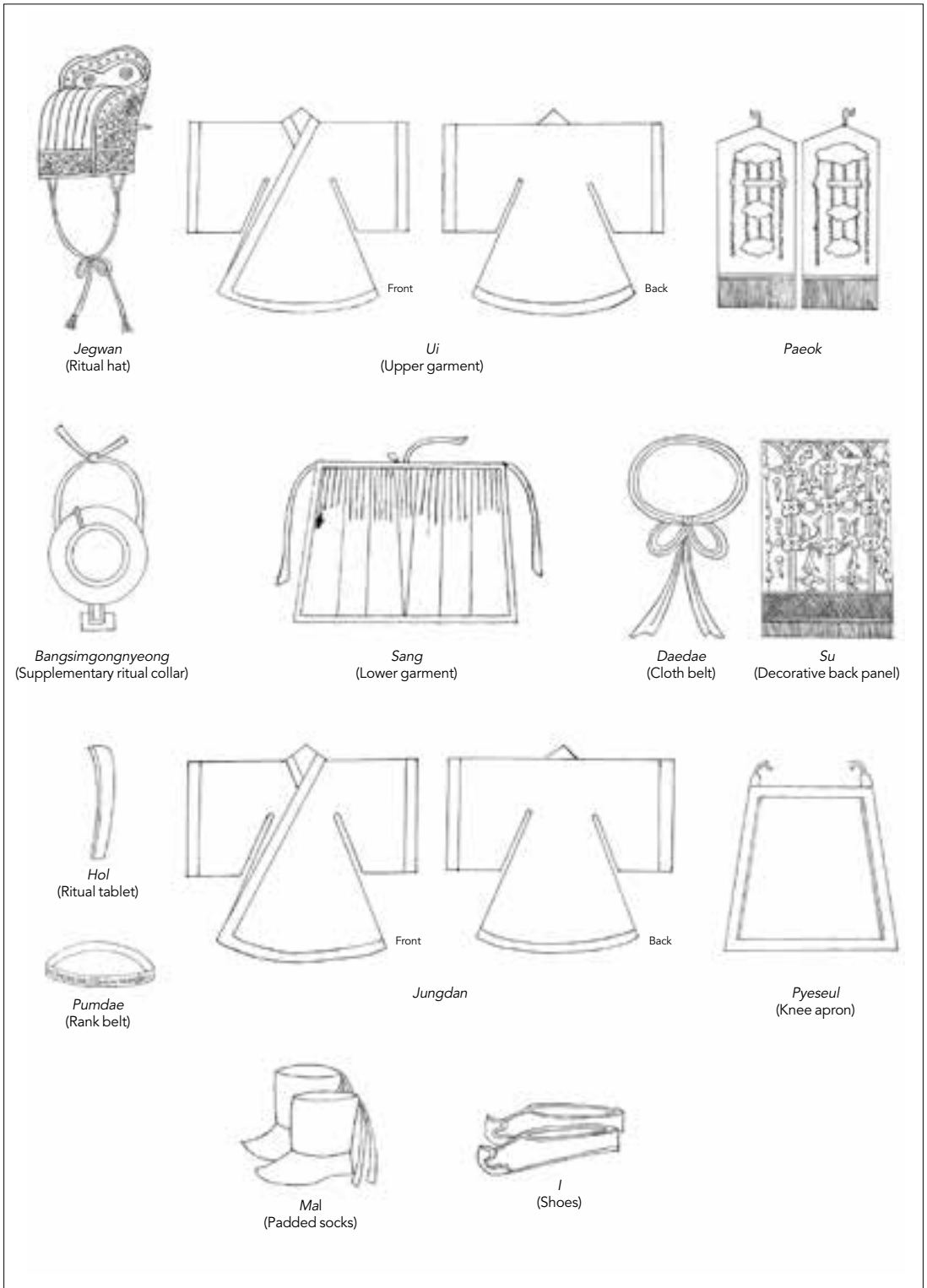
Jebok (Kor. 제복, Chin. 祭服, lit. ritual clothing) is the attire worn by all ritual officials (*hyang-gwan*) taking part in state rites, which were classified in terms of importance as *daesa* (large rites), *jungsa* (medium rites) and *sosa* (small rites).

Aside from the royal court, in private homes the proper attire was worn for various household rites such as ancestral memorial rites, New Year's Eve rites at the family shrine, and seasonal rites.



Recreation of Jongmyo daeje, the royal ancestral rite of Joseon | Jongno-gu, Seoul | 2009 | Seo Heongang

The form and composition of ritual attire was the same as the ceremonial court attire called *jobok*. But as it was a uniform for rites to express a heightened sense of piety and was worn to uphold and show respect for the ancestors, an added collar called *bangsimgongnyeong* (Kor. 방심곡령, Chin. 方心曲領, lit. square heart and bent collar) was worn. Placed over the regular collar, the part going around the neck was round and the part hanging down in front was square, symbolizing heaven and earth, respectively. Wearing the *bangsimgongnyeong* around the neck was expression of the will to serve the ancestral spirits with all one's devotion. Originally, this added collar was worn with all court attire and official uniforms, but in the Ming Dynasty of China it was worn only by military officials with their uniform, and became a point distinguishing *jobok* from jebok. By adding *bangsimgongnyeong*, official uniform gained added meaning as ritual attire. In the Joseon Dynasty, even when wearing *myeonbok*, which was the highest level of ceremonial attire for the most important state occasions (*daeryebok*), only when the king conducted the rites in person was the added collar worn, and accordingly civil and military officials only wore it with their official uniform. At the time, the *bangsimgongnyeong* worn by the king and the crown prince had a green string hanging from the left side and a red string from the right side. This feature is not found on the extra collar worn by officials.



Drawing of the set of garments comprising the civil and military officials' uniform | 1788 | National Palace Museum of Korea

Jobok

조복 朝服
Court attire

Ceremonial attire worn by members of the royal family and government officials on major holidays, celebratory events, or important events of state.

Jobok (Kor. 조복, Chin. 朝服, lit. court attire) was worn on lunar New Year's Day (Seollal), the winter solstice, or at a royal wedding, birthday, *yeongjo* rite (Kor. 영조, Chin. 迎詔, lit. welcoming a royal command) or *bumyo* (Kor. 부묘, Chin. 祔廟, lit. ancestor worship shrine), which means enshrining the spirit tablet at Jongmyo, the royal ancestral shrine. In the case of princes, they wore jobok for the third rite and third change of clothes in their coming-of-age ceremony. Records such as "Oryeui" (Five Rites) from 1454 in *Sejong sillok* (*Annals of King Sejong*) and *Gukjo sokoryeui* (*Supplement to the Five Rites of State*) from 1744, show that when the king wore his ritual robes (*myeonbok*) and ceremonial robes (*gangsapo*) he had his officials wear jobok. Therefore, jobok is the highest ceremonial attire of the government officials, equivalent to the king's *myeonbok* or *gangsapo*. However, in the early Joseon Dynasty when the ritual system had not been properly established there was confusion surrounding the jobok. After the Japanese invasions (1592-98) it was difficult for officials to wear full ceremonial attire so the *heukdallyeong* (dark robe with round collar) was worn instead. With the subsequent repetition of war and confusion, from the reign of King Hyojong only the first to fourth ranks wore jobok and from the fifth rank down the

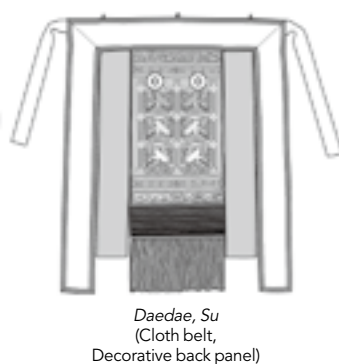
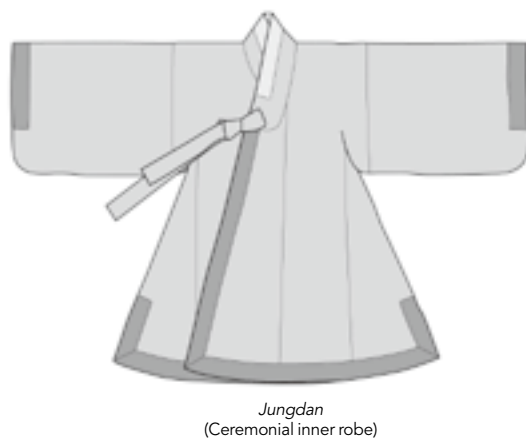
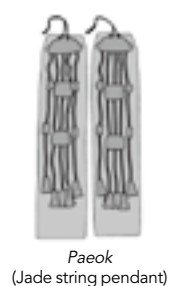
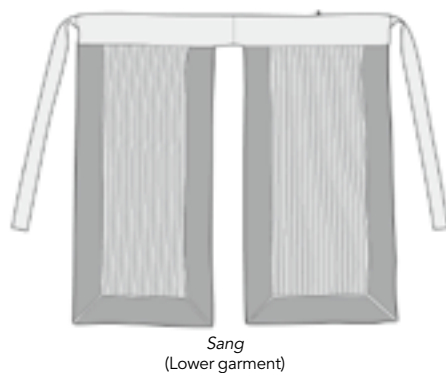
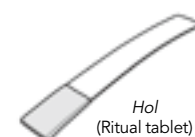
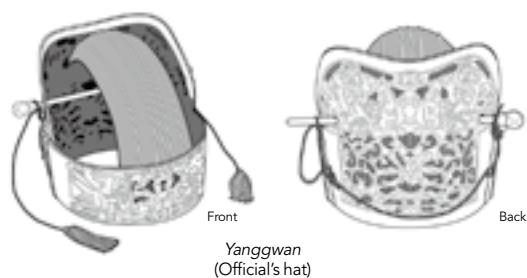


Celebratory rite held by officials, folding screen depicting a banquet held in the *musin* year | 1848 | National Museum of Korea



Portrait of Yi Haeung dressed in geumgwan and jobok | 18th-19th century | National Museum of Korea

officials wore *heukdallyeong*. *Gukjo sokoryeui* says these rules were legislated during the reign of King Yeongjo.



Mungwan daeryebok

문관대례복 文官大禮服
Court dress

Court dress worn by civil officials of the enlightenment period when having an audience with the emperor or attending a formal event at the palace.



Daeryebok (Gwangsu heukdallyeong), traditional court dress | Length 118 cm, Chest: 45 cm, Hwajang: 91 cm | Late Joseon Dynasty | Korea University Museum



Mungwan daeryebok, court dress | National Folk Museum of Korea

Daeryebok (Kor. 대례복, Chin. 大禮服, lit. great ritual costume) is a term that newly emerged in Korean costume after opening of the country's ports. It specifically refers to the attire worn by civil officials when having an audience with the emperor or taking part in a formal event in the palace. In the West such attire was commonly called court dress or court costume, and the same attire was adopted by both Korea and Japan under the name *daeryebok*, which literally means "great ritual costume." *Daeryebok* worn by civil officials consisted of a hat with high crown, an upper garment in the form of a tailcoat, pants, vest and sword. The major characteristic of Western court dress is the national emblem embroidered or engraved on items such as hats, upper garments or swords. Around the mid-19th century countries that were brought into the order of international society under the lead of Western countries adopted such court dress. Major examples are Korea and Japan. An important difference between the two countries is that Korea did not adopt Western court dress right away but implemented a traditional style court dress that was maintained for some time.

After opening its ports, Joseon established a system of attire that had to be worn at diplomatic ceremonies led by the West. Called mungwan daeryebok, the clothes included a hat with high crown, an upper garment in the form of a tailcoat, pants, vest, and sword. The national symbol was turned into an emblem that was embroidered in gold, which is an important characteristic to remember. The national emblem instituted by the Korean Empire was the Rose of Sharon, which is now the national flower, and it is meaningful that this was the first time it was embroidered on clothing.



Mungwan daeryebok, Kim Gajin in court dress | National Folk Museum of Korea

Pyeonbok

편복 便服

Everyday attire

Everyday attire.

Pyeonbok (Kor. 편복, Chin. 便服, lit. ordinary clothes) is the clothing worn on a daily basis, consisting of pants (*baji*), jacket (*jeogori*) and outer robe or coat (*po*). The scholar-official class of the Joseon Dynasty were always neat and tidy in their dress and only thought they were properly dressed when they had put on their hat and coat. In many cases pyeonbok refers to the everyday robe worn by Joseon men called *pyeonbokpo*, which served as formal wear on its own or was worn under the round-collar robe *dallyeong*. Types of everyday robes include *cheollik*, *jingnyeong*, *aekjureum*, *dapho*, *dopo*, *changui*, *simui*, and *hakchangui*. The *jingnyeong*, *aekjureum*, and *dapo* were mostly worn in the first half of the Joseon Dynasty and from the mid-Joseon period the *dopo*, *changui*, and *jeonbok* were mostly worn. In the late Joseon Dynasty, the *durumagi* was uniformly worn. The *cheollik* also functioned as official attire during war, and formal robes such as the *simui* or *hakchangui* which Confucian scholars liked to wear also served as the robe of the commoners (*yabok*) if it was worn without a belt or girdle. As can be seen, while pyeonbok means everyday attire, depending on the situation it sometimes functioned as ceremonial attire and sometimes as official attire.

Sangbok

상복 喪服

Mourning clothes

Mourning clothes worn by the head mourner and others of the family of the deceased.

The mourning clothes worn in Korea are based on the customs found in old Chinese texts such as the *Book of Etiquette and Rites* (*Yili*, 儀禮) and the *Book of Rites* (*Liji*, 禮記). Moreover, it can be said the concept of mourning clothes described in *Family Rites* (*Jiali*, 家禮) are based in the patriarchal society of Confucianism and the ideology of hereditary succession (繼世思想). This played a great role in the formation and establishment of large families (encompassing many generations) and the five types of mourning clothes (*obokjedo*). Relatives of a degree of closeness entitled to wear mourning clothes were called *yubokchin* (Kor. 유복친, Chin. 有服親, lit. relatives in mourning garments). They were blood relatives who had a strong role as a member of the family. This system of designating relatives entitled to wear mourning clearly marked the boundaries in inheritance of assets through the eldest son and ancestor worship in memorial rites. The five types of mourning clothes were hence distinguished according to degree of kinship. From the perspective of patriarchal society, mourning clothes were a feudal and political tool manifesting the ideology of ancestor worship and worship of heaven.

From an individual perspective, mourning clothes were an expressive device that contributed to the mental comfort of the surviving family members. They had to be worn throughout the whole funeral process, from *imjong* (Kor. 임



Head House of Hakbong in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do

중, Chin. 臨終, lit. preparation to meet death) to *gilje* (Kor. 길제, Chin. 吉祭, lit. rite of good fortune) when the ancestral tablet was enshrined. Emotional engineering design elements and principles were applied to them to express the feelings of the relatives according to degree of closeness to the deceased. That is, under the system of five kinds of mourning clothes, differences were made in material, design, sewing methods, and direction of the seams.

Seungbok

승복 僧服

Monk's attire

Umbrella term for all attire worn by Buddhist monks.

Seungbok (Kor. 승복, Chin. 僧服, lit. monk's clothing) refers to all the attire worn by Buddhist monks, including the kasaya and *jangsam* (Kor. 장삼, Chin. 長衫, lit. long gown) as well as hats such as the *songnak*, a conical hat made with lichen, and *gokkal*, a peaked hat made of ramie. The kasaya robe transmitted from India, where Buddhism originated, is the basic monk's robe and was worn simply draped over one or both shoulders. But in Korea, under the influence of the climate and culture and the traditional costume, Buddhist robes changed and developed into a uniquely Korean style. The kasaya and *jangsam* are called *beopui*, or dharma robes, because they represent the will to follow the Buddhist law. These robes differ in color, material and method of making according to the monk's dharma rank. Kasaya are divided into different types according to size: the great



Seungbok by Kwon Ochang

kasaya, nine-panel kasaya, five-panel kasaya, and seven-panel kasaya. They are colored red, yellowish brown, yellow, and black, respectively. The *jangsam* also differs in color according to the rank of the monk, including purple, dark blue, grey, and black.

Through the Goryeo Dynasty when Buddhism flourished in Korea the kasaya grew bigger and the great kasaya (*daegasa*) made of silk took root, while the red kasaya was considered the finest. The *jangsam*, the robe that was worn under the kasaya up until the early Joseon period, was in the form of the Chinese monastic robe *zhiduo*. It had a long upper part,

wide sleeves and straight collar, with a pleated skirt attached as the lower part of the garment. After the Japanese invasions 1592-98 (Imjin waeran), monastic attire grew simpler and the Joseon system of robes (*po*) was adopted so that the *dopo* and *juui* could be worn as jangsam. The monastic robe developed to the present *jangsam* form, which combines the wide sleeves of the *dopo* with the form of the *juui*, a coat which has no vents.

Sibok

시복 時服

Uniform worn by civil and military officials

Uniform worn by all civil and military officials, consisting of a hat called *samo*, robe called *dallyeong*, rank belt called *pumdae*, and black boots called *heukbwa*.

When Jeong Mongju brought back from the Ming Dynasty the Chinese official's uniform consisting of *samo* and *dallyeong* (robe with round collar) in the late Goryeo Dynasty, the officials of Goryeo started wearing this uniform also. During the Joseon Dynasty *dallyeong* was firmly established as the robe of government officials after the ordinary people were banned from wearing *dallyeong* during the reign of King Sejong. The official's uniform, called *sibok*, consisted of the *samo* hat, *dallyeong* robe, rank belt, and black boots. The *samo* is low in the front and high in the back with "wings" protruding horizontally from each side. High officials' hats had wings decorated with various designs while lower officials had no decoration on theirs. Details of the shape of the wings give clues

for dating when they were worn. The *dallyeong* (Kor. 단령, Chin. 團領, lit. round collar) gets its name from its round collar. The width and depth of the collar, the width of the sleeves, and the structure of the side gores (*mu*) changed with time, and the color and function of the robe changed according to period. From the late King Seongjong period to the 19th day of the 5th month of 1610, the *heukdallyeong* (literally "black *dallyeong*," though it was actually dark blue) was the uniform worn by government officials, and afterwards the red *hongdallyeong* that had been worn for daily office work became the official's uniform. The rank belt was decorated with a different sword hook and material for the borders according to the wearer's position. The various types include the rhino horn belt *seodae* (Kor. 서대, Chin. 犀帶, lit. rhinoceros belt) for the first rank; gold *sapgeumdae* (Kor. 삽금대, Chin. 鍍金帶) for the senior second rank; gold *sogeumdae* (Kor. 소금대, Chin. 素金帶, lit. plain gold belt) for the junior second rank; silver *sabeundae* (Kor. 삽은대, Chin. 鍍銀帶) for the senior third rank; silver *soeundae* (Kor. 소은대, Chin. 素銀帶, lit. plain silver belt) for the junior third rank to fourth rank; and *heukgakdae*, a black horn belt, for the fifth rank and below. *Heukbwa* are black boots with toes inflected upwards. Over time the neck of the boots and the shape of the uppers changed according to period. The boots were worn with socks (*beoseon*) made especially for the boots with leather or woolen fabrics called *jing* and *cheong*. In cold or rainy weather, overshoes called *buntu* (Kor. 분투, Chin. 分套, lit. partial sheath) were worn.

In the early years of Joseon there were no rules regarding the color of the *dallyeong* robe worn as official uniform. However, those who wore light-colored robes were ordered to replace them with dark ones to maintain the dig-



Portrait of Chae Jaegong dressed in official robe | 1792 | Suwon Hwaseong Museum

nity of the court. In those days no distinction was made between everyday attire and official uniform so the *dallyeong* was an everyday robe as well as official's formal robe.

During the reign of King Sejong, officials were ordered to wear *heukdallyeong* at the daily assembly and morning audiences, and hence it became to known as ceremonial attire. During daily work at the palace, officials were allowed to wear *dallyeong* of various colors but over time dark green and red became the norm and in the end the red robe came to be the only one worn. As the color of the *dallyeong* became fixed according to usage, the name changed also. The changes in name are presumed to date to the reign of King Seongjong, and a definite record can be found in the *Annals of Jungjong* (*Jungjong sillok*) from 1520 (15th year of the reign of King Junjong). This is when the *heukdallyeong* worn as a ceremonial robe was called sibok. The so-called *heukdallyeong* (lit. black robe) was actually a darkish blue color. High ranking officials wore *heukdallyeong* made of patterned silk and the relevant rank badge on the chest and back. Lower officials wore *heukdallyeong* made with plain *cho* (raw silk) or *ju* (silk) fabric. These lower officials did not wear a rank badge. But 120 years later, on the 19th day of the 5th month of 1610 (2nd year of the reign of Gwanghaegun) the ceremonial *heukdallyeong* was prescribed as everyday attire based on the book *Five Rites of State* (*Oryeui*), and the red *dallyeong*, which had been work attire, became the new uniform. As working attire, the red *dallyeong* was worn by higher and lower officials alike, all made of plain silk fabric. At first it was a fairly light red color but from the 17th century the robe worn by the lower officials gradually grew darker and the robes were eventually divided into a light red robe for the higher officials and a dark red

robe for the lower officials. Then on the 16th day of the 12th month of 1757 (33rd year of the reign of King Yeongjo) the king ordered that a green *dallyeong* be worn as the official uniform. In 1884, when the Gapsin Coup occurred, all officials wore the *heukdallyeong* again and the sibok system was finally abolished.



Portrait of Kwon Eungso | 1604 | Kwon Gyeongmin



Jangot, women's coat
Length: 123 cm, Chest: 62.5 cm, Hwajang: 91 cm
Excavated from the Tomb of Ki in Haengju
17th century



Jeogori, jacket
Length: 69 cm, Chest: 53 cm, Hwajang: 80.5 cm
Excavated from the Tomb of Ki in Haengju
17th century



Chima, skirt
Length: 108.5 cm, Waist: 112.5 cm
Excavated from the Tomb of Ki in Haengju
17th century



Seupsin, shoes worn by the deceased
Length: 24 cm, Width: 9.8 cm
Joseon

Women's *Suui* | National Folk Museum of Korea



Dallyeong, robe with round collar
Length: 130 cm, Chest: 57 cm, Hwajang: 121 cm
Excavated from the Tomb of Nam Oseong
18th century



Cheollik, robe with pleated skirt
Length: 111 cm, Chest: 69 cm, Hwajang: 109 cm
Excavated from Namyangju, Gyeonggi-do
Latter half 16th century



Baji, pants
Length: 88 cm, Waist: 86 cm, Waistband width: 10 cm
Excavated from Namyangju, Gyeonggi-do



Moja, hat
Length: 57 cm, Height: 21 cm
Excavated from the Tomb of Byeong Su
First half 16th century

Men's *Suui* | National Folk Museum of Korea

Suui

수의 壽衣
Shroud

The clothes in which the deceased is dressed as part of the funeral rites.

Suui, or shroud, refers to the final garments worn by the deceased. The kinds and forms of shroud, or burial clothes, differed according to period. During the Joseon Dynasty garments of the kind worn in everyday life were used, then going into the 18th century the custom of preparing different garments for women emerged. In those days the burial garments were prepared in a leap month. The fabrics most often used were cotton and silk. But after the Japanese colonial period, the trend shifted to hemp cloth. In the 21st century, funeral trends shifted from burial to cremation. Burial clothing takes the form of traditional *hanbok* and in most cases is made of hemp cloth. With suui, the collar (*git*) of the jacket or overcoat, or the waist of the pants or skirt, are sewn together to make it easy to dress the corpse. In excavated examples from the Joseon period there are cases where three to five sets of undergarments are sewn onto the same waistband. The way the clothes are worn shows differences according to family and period, which arise from different interpretations of the rule of *jwaimbulnyu* (front closing left side over right and no chest ties). In the ritual books of Joseon there is an unceasing discussion as to how the garments were to be closed. According to the rule of placing the overlapping front panel on the left side and attaching no chest ties, the burial garment was sometimes closed on the left side in contrast to what was done in real

life. The late Jeong Jeongwan, first title holder of Intangible Cultural Property No. 89, the art of sewing, interpreted the rule to mean attaching the outer collar band to the left side and thus made suui that way. A report on excavated Joseon clothing interprets *jwaimbulnyu* to mean that while the burial garment closes on the right in the case of *soryeom* or *daeryeom* (post-shrouding and final shrouding before placement in the coffin) the garments or cloth is closed on the left side. There are diverse other funeral practices, including the removal of the chest ties.

Yungbok

융복 戎服
Military uniform worn in times of war or crisis

Robe designed for military activities which was worn during emergencies or wartime, when escorting the king in a procession, and when sent as an envoy to a foreign country.

Joseon wangjo sillok (*Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*) first mentions yungbok (Kor. 융복, Chin. 戎服, lit. war clothing) during the reign of King Sejong and most frequently during the reign of King Jungjong. Records on yungbok continued to be found until the reign of King Gojong. According to *Gukjo oryuei* (*Five Rites of State*), when the king and all government officials went to the royal tombs, they all wore yungbok. According to *Sokdaejeon* (*Supplement to the National Code*), for their yungbok (military uniform) government officials of senior third rank and higher shall wear navy *cheollik* (robe with a pleated skirt) and *jarip* (hat) decorated with *paeyeong* (hat string made of beads of cor-



Yungbok (Military Uniform) , military uniform by Kwon Ochang



Officials dressed in military uniform | From Album of Genre Paintings by Gisan | Korean Christian Museum at Soongsil University

al, amber, *daemo* (hawksbill sea turtle), *milhwa* (amber), and crystal. Meanwhile government officials of the junior rank had to wear dark blue *cheollik* or red *cheollik* when the king left the capital, and *heungnip* (black hat) decorated with *paeyeong*. The provisions on the properties of the “Book of Rites” in *Daejeon tongpyeon* (*Comprehensive National Code*) stipulate that when the king wears *cheollik*, his officials shall wear yungbok. *Daejeon hoetong* (*Comprehensive Collection of the National Codes*), says officials of senior third rank and higher shall wear the *jarip* made of black silk without a beaded hat string.

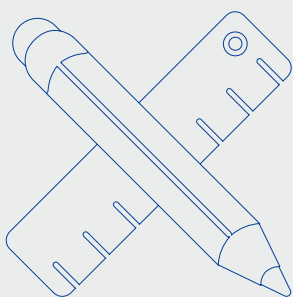
The practice of wearing the yungbok is systematically summed up in Volume 9 of *Dasan simunjip* (*Dasan’s Collection of Poetry and Prose*): “The yungbok should be worn with a red horse-

hair hat decorated with four white feathers attached to the four corners of the hat as well as peacock feathers from the head and flanks. A string of amber beads shall be attached to the hat. Navy *cheollik* shall be worn with a girdle made of red cord around the waist, and a hat called *hobang* that covers the back of the neck. In addition, a bow case, a quiver, a sword, *deungpyeon*, *subyeja*, wrist guards, and horn ring shall be worn.”⁶³

63. Jeong Yakyong. *Dasan simunjip* (*Dasan’s Collection of Poetry and Prose*). Vol. 9 “有戎服之具, 紫駿笠, 飾虎鬚, 孔雀羽, 巔羽, 旁羽, 蜜花纓, 藍紗綴翼, 紅條帶, 滿縮護項, 弓囊矢服, 佩劍, 藤鞭, 水鞋子, 臂鞬, 角指” (http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_BT_1260A_0090_020_0060_2000_004_XML Sept. 29 2020)

Terms

용어



Baegui

백의 白衣

White clothes widely worn by Koreans

White clothes, widely worn by the people of Korea.

Baegui (Kor. 백의, Chin. 白衣, lit. white clothes) have been established as the clothing representative of the Korean people despite countless bans and restrictions over the ages, through the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties and the period of Japanese colonial rule. Records show that the custom of venerating white clothes goes back to ancient times: in the ancient state of Buyeo it was believed “the people venerated white clothes” (在國衣尙白); in the ancient state of Byeonjin (300 BCE–300 AD), it was believed that “the people should wear clean and neat clothes” (衣服淨潔); and in the Goguryeo Kingdom (37 BCE – 668 CE) it was believed that “all people should wear clean and white clothes” (其人潔清).

Baegui has three meanings: first it refers to plain-colored (*sosaek*) clothes; second, it refers to mourning clothes; and third it refers to clothes worn by those without public office. This is due to the different symbolism of white clothes and *sobok*, which is clothing of a plain color that has not been processed in any way. *Baek* (白) is commonly used to mean “white” but *so* (素) refers to the original color of cloth, which is considered more important. This is partly because *sosaek* is considered to be the color of mourning clothes worn by the chief mourner, or the person who has lost a parent, as well as those who are being punished for a comparable crime. Even under the ideology of Neo-Confucianism, which was the foundation of Joseon society, in 1648 (26th

year of the reign of King Injo), white clothes were banned on the grounds that “If one is dressed in white clothes and a white hat it is the same as a mourner dressed in white and is thus an ominous sign.” However, even in 1799 (23rd year of the reign of King Jeongjo), the white *dallyeong* robe worn by government officials was called baegui, or white clothing, showing that the concept of white clothing was inseparable from mourning clothes.

Goryeosa jeolyo (*Essentials of Goryeo History*) contains a phrase saying, “the baegui are also allowed to take *gwageo* [state examination] up to ten times...”; *Yeollyeosil gisul* (*Narratives of Yeollyeosil*) says, “Baegui takes first place in the state examination, a student or scholar without public office experience,” which shows that in old documents the term baegui was used to indicate ordinary people. The phrase *baegui jong-gun* (白衣從軍), literally meaning “serving in war wearing white clothes,” which is frequently seen in old documents, can be also understood in the same vein.

Baegui was an object of interest for foreigners who came to Korea in the early 1900s. They called Koreans *baengmin* (lit. white people) to indicate that all Korean people were wearing white clothes. In the 1920s, they described marketplaces where many people gathered as “a field covered with cotton.”



Notice encouraging people to wear colored clothes | November 14, 1933 | Dong-A Ilbo

Under the oppression of the Japanese during the colonial period, baegui still lived on in the Korean sentiment. At the state funerals of King Gojong (1919) and King Sunjo (1926), even the commoners wore white clothes and white hats.

As to the origin of the reference to “people of white clothes,” Kiichi Toriyama, a Japanese historian on the colonial period, explained in his paper titled “Joseon Baeguigo” (Research on the People of White Clothes) that after Mongolia’s invasion of Goryeo, the people of Korea began to wear white clothes, bitterly grieving the loss of their country. Art historian Yanagi Muneyoshi also said that the people wear white clothes due to their great sufferings and historical experiences.

During their occupation, the Japanese blatantly stopped the people from wearing white clothes. One of the most common examples is found in this account: “Spray red or black water over people wearing white clothes so that

they will never wear them again.” The Japanese official organ extensively published reports justifying the ban on white clothes, citing statistics obtained from an experiment conducted by the Japanese Government-General of Korea from the 1930s.

However, Koreans were given an excuse to wear white clothes again. When an American B-29 bomber attacked Japan at the end of the Pacific War, Syngman Rhee, the first president of Korea, appeared on the American television and radio network Voice of America and urged the public to wear white because the bomber would recognize those in white as Koreans and refrain from attacking. Towards the end of their colonial rule, the Japanese once again banned Koreans from wearing white clothes on the pretext that white clothes stood out so those wearing them would become an easy target. This was Japan’s final attempt to eliminate the Korean custom of dressing in white clothes.



Sawol chopail, Buddha's birthday, which falls on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month | 1930s | National Folk Museum of Korea

The color white symbolizes the sun, and Koreans had venerated the sun since ancient times, holding sacred the white rays representing light, and thus enjoyed wearing white. Therefore, the long tradition of wearing white garments was rooted in indigenous folk beliefs centered on veneration and worship of heaven and earth and the universe. The practice of wearing white clothes can be found in ancestral rites and rites for heaven during which participants wore white clothes and made offerings of white rice cake, white rice wine, and white rice. In addition, white as “a pure color” carries sacred meaning and was also considered an auspicious color symbolizing purity, virginity, brightness, and morals. This thought has been passed on to modern Koreans, which is evidenced by the practice of dressing a baby in a white upper garment called *baenaetjeogori* on the third day after birth.

Although faced with countless trials, such as bans and oppression and the influx of Western-style clothing, baegui have been regarded as the clothing of the Korean people.

Unfortunately, since the 2000s it has become difficult to find in ordinary homes properly made white mourning dress or white clothes or robes, which were once given the highest regard as ritual attire.

ing exactly when the practice of wearing chuseokbim started. Collected works of scholars in the past mainly feature prose and verse dealing with the full moon of Chuseok and later focused on the dance *ganggangsullae*, where beautifully dressed-up women danced in a circle.

The term chuseokbim in reference to new clothes worn at Chuseok seems to have begun when Korea became a modern state. A record mentioning Chuseok and cloth dating back to the year 32 (9th year of the reign of King Yuri) can be found in the section of King Yuri's reign in *Samguk sagi* (*History of the Three Kingdoms*).

The ancient record contains information on food, song and dance, and traditional pastimes and descriptions of a women's weaving competition called *jeongma*. Although this old competition does not have a direct relation to chuseokbim, it can be presumed that the women were preparing cloth to make clothes for fall and the coming winter. This festive event also seems to have been designed to celebrate a good harvest of hemp.

Almost every month has a holiday, but especially on lunar New Year's Day (Seollal), Dano (fifth day of the fifth month), and Chuseok (fifteenth day of the eighth month), Koreans wore new clothes. These new clothes are called *seolbim*, *danobim*, and chuseokbim, respectively.

In the way *seolbim* is also called *seolbieum*, *danobim* is also referred to as *danobieum*. *Seolbim* are fancy clothes, but *danobim* were also characterized by their extravagance to the point that that they were called *danojang*. *Dano pungyeong* (*Dano Day Scene*), a genre painting by Shin Yunbok, gives a slight glimpse of what *danojang* looked like. A children's song titled “A Swing” (lyrics by Kim Malbong and music composed by Geum Suhyeon), which was released in 1941 after Korea became a modern state, began with

Chuseokbim

추석빔

New clothes worn at Chuseok

New clothes worn to celebrate Chuseok.

There are few extant historic documents show-

the words “A skirt in pale blue-green made of fine ramie and a gilded hair ribbon” also giving us an idea of *danojang*.

On Dano, new clothes made of thin silk (*gapsa*) or fine hemp cloth were worn. Compared to *seolbim* and *danobim*, there is little information on chuseokbim.

By dictionary definition, chuseokbim are new clothes or footwear prepared to celebrate Chuseok. Hence a complete set of new clothes was prepared, including jacket and pants or skirt as well as socks and shoes. Like *seolbim*, chuseokbim is a compound word of *chuseok* and *bieum*. Originally, the word *bieum* refers to the act of dressing up with new clothes for holidays or parties and was later shortened to *bim*. Although chuseokbim meant the act of wearing new clothes at Chuseok, the meaning of the word changed over time to indicate the actual garments.

Chuseokbim are not only clothes worn on the holiday but also serve as an indicator of the season. *Danobim* marks the point at which winter clothing is replaced by summer clothing, whereas chuseokbim marks the point when autumn and winter clothes are taken out. So, around the Chuseok holiday, people prepare clothes for fall and winter. Chuseokbim, unlike *danobim*, were made of thick silk and cotton fabrics. On the lunar New Year's Day, women used to dress up in yellow or green jackets and red skirts. It was also said that pink jackets and navy skirts were worn at Chuseok.

Nongga wollyeongga (Songs of Monthly Events of Farm Families), compiled by Jeong Hakyu (丁學游, 1788-1855) contains the phrase “[...] dressed up in green *jangot* and a navy skirt [...],” which suggests that a different version of chuseokbim is credible. The songs also includes the words “silk was prepared and dyed navy and red,

resulting in a variety of navy and red colors [...]” As proved by these phrases, chuseokbim were worn over the ages, equally fancy and colorful as *seolbim* and *danobim*.

Chuseokbim were clothes worn for Chuseok and a scared ceremonial costume distinguished from everyday wear. In particular, these special clothes were significant as they signified abundance at the harvest time of the year, serving as a seasonal turning point.

Hanbok

한복 韓服

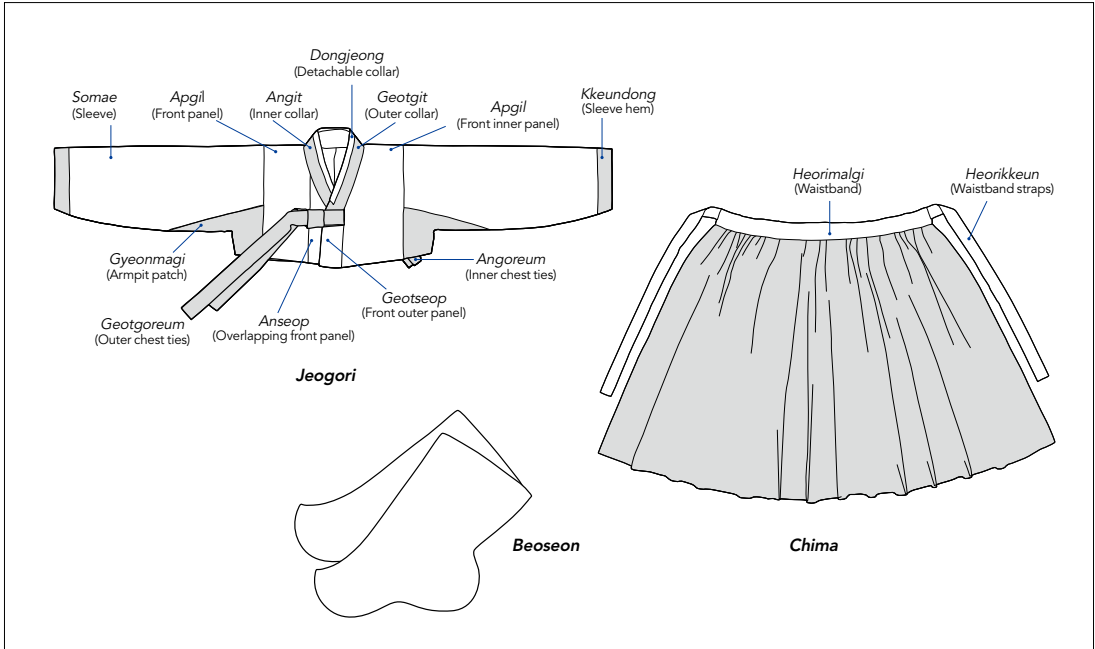
Traditional Korean clothing

Umbrella term for all traditional Korean clothes, which embody Korean culture.

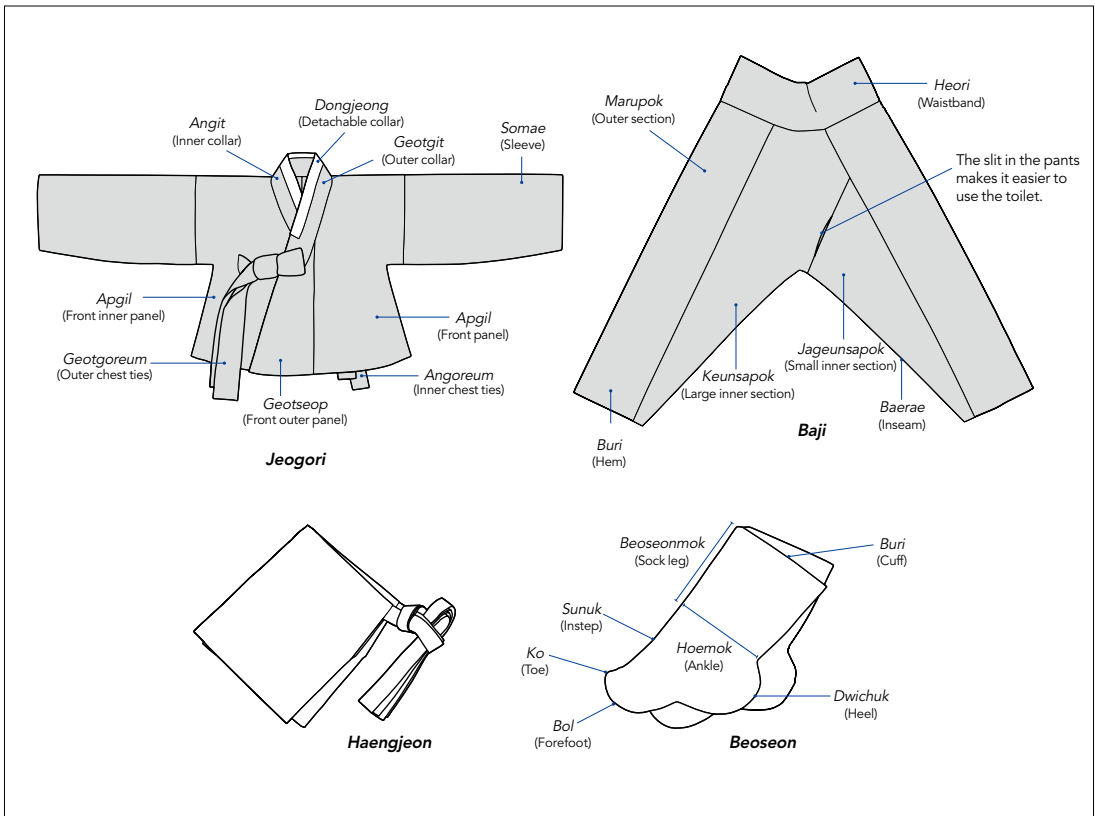
The clothes worn by the many figures that appear in ancient Goguryeo tomb murals are more than garments for protection of the body; they are garments that serve as a means of social communication that helps us to understand Goguryeo society, culture and relations with neighboring countries and also reflect the people's sense of beauty. Hanbok (Kor. 한복, Chin. 韓服, lit. Korean clothes), based on the form of those clothes and the way they were worn, reflect history and the situation of their times, changing and developing over the ages to be handed down today.

1. Three Kingdoms

The attire seen on the many figures appearing in Goguryeo tomb murals provide valuable information on understanding the original form of hanbok. In the murals, the men and women are



Basic women's garments | National Folk Museum of Korea



Basic men's garments | National Folk Museum of Korea



Hanbok | Lee Jiyeong

wearing pants (*baji*) and a long jacket (*jeogori*) that covers the bottom and closes right side over left or left side over right. Adult women wore a skirt (*chima*) over the pants, and the murals of Ssangyeongchong (Twin Column Tomb) and the tombs of Susan-ri show that pleated skirts and *saekdong* (multicolored striped material) skirts were in fashion in their time. Over these basic garments the people wore a long outer robe or coat (*po*) and tied a belt around the waist. Nearly all garments had a band of a different color cloth along the edges, which reinforced the hems and produced a decorative effect through the use of another color and designs on the band.

2. Unified Silla

A somewhat exotic style of dress was in fashion at the time with the active adoption of Chi-

nese culture and the reflection of the style of the Western regions, the so-called Tang style. When extravagance reached a serious level under the preference for imported goods, in 834 (9th year of the reign of King Heungdeok) moves were made to establish order through rules and regulations on costume which stipulated restrictions on 21 items of clothing, including the official's hood *bokdu* (Kor. 복두, Chin. 幘頭, lit. head scarf).

The fashion for Tang-style clothing brought changes to women's attire in particular. With hanbok, the lower garment was put on first and then the upper garment. In contrast, in Tang clothing the upper garment was put on first and the skirt over that, pulled up high to just under the armpits and the waistband straps were tied around the chest and left to hang down at the front. On top of that a short *banbi* (type of vest) was worn and a long scarf was wound around the neck with the ends falling down the front. This was the fashion.

3. Goryeo Dynasty

Aristocratic Goryeo women wore a wide sash called *neukgeon*, dyed with white olives, around the waist with gold bells and incense pouches, and a white ramie robe on top, which is the same as what the men wore. Also, the wives of men of high rank wore wide-legged pants made of patterned raw silk when they went out. They rode on horseback and wore a garment called *mongsu* over their heads to hide themselves. Wives of low-ranking officials wore an eight-*pok* skirt (*pok* refers to one width of cloth) pulled up to the armpits that was turned around and tied. The more times the skirt wound around the body the more elegant they considered it to be. This way of wearing clothes could still be seen in the early half of Goryeo, some

parts of which are traces left by Silla. In the latter half of Goryeo, state marriages took place with the Yuan Dynasty for political reasons and some Mongolian customs and systems were adopted, including the hairstyle known as *gae-chebyeonbal* (head shaved with a patch left at the upper part of the back of the head and a long braid hanging from there) and an outer garment called *yosanoja*. But considering the *jingnyeong*, *jau*, *jungui*, and *jangsu* robes found enshrined in a Goryeo Buddhist statue we can sense the efforts people made to protect things Korean.

4. Joseon Dynasty

In the early days there were efforts to reform old ways regarding costume carried on from the Goryeo Dynasty while some argued for following the costume system of the Ming Dynasty of China. In the midst of this, Joseon implemented its own independent policies while striving to correct any bad practices. Joseon society was based on Confucian ideals and hence the robes and hats worn by men, who were active in society, were well developed while women, who were mainly confined to the home, placed importance on doing their hair. The *gache*, a large wig of braids that was used to ornament the hair, was considered the cause of extravagance and hence a social vice. So during the reign of King Yeongjo measures were taken on a state level to regulate women's hairstyles, wigs, and headdress in an effort to prevent extravagant spending on decorating the hair.

Throughout the Joseon Dynasty the greatest change in women's costume was in the form of the *jeogori* (jacket) and the way it was worn. Initially the *jeogori* was around 60 cm long, with straight sleeves and a wide, straight collar (*mokpangit*). In the mid-Joseon period the *jeogori* grew shorter to around 50 cm in length and in

many cases the sleeves tapered from the armpit down to a narrow cuff and had a wide collar that turned up at the end (*mokpan dankogit*). After the Japanese invasions (1592-98) the pointed collar (*kalgit*) was popular. During the late Joseon Dynasty the *jeogori* was around 20 cm long, growing so short that it barely covered the chest. The skirt was filled out with many layers of undergarments so that the silhouette was often referred to as *habu sangbak* (下厚上薄) meaning "generous below and stingy on top."

5. After Opening of ports

The Gabo Reforms, carried out on three occasions between the seventh month of 1894 (31st year of the reign of King Gojong) and the second month of 1896, also affected the people's dress. In 1895 an edict was made for all males to cut off their topknots, and as a Western-style suit was adopted for the uniform of civil and military officials the number of people wearing Western-style clothes and shoes gradually increased. Traditional clothing was simplified so that the men's basic costume consisted of pants, jacket and long unlined drawers (*sokgoui*), with ankle bands tied around the pant legs. Upper garments consisted of the *jeogori* and an inner garment called *sokjeoksam* with a vest and long outer jacket called *magoja* on top. The outermost garment was a coat called *durumagi*, which sometimes had buttons instead of the traditional ties at the chest.

Meanwhile, many women continued to wear traditional clothing, including the *jangot*, a jacket-like cloak, over the head. But those who were studying overseas in Japan or the "new woman," who were all called "modern girls," wore Western-style clothes or a short Western-style skirt with long traditional jacket. Women who received modern education inside Korea wore

a closed skirt with bodice attached (*jokkiheori*) and a jacket around 30-35 cm long as their school uniform. The sleeves grew larger with a curved inseam that was likened to the belly of a carp. This is why this form of sleeve was called the “carp-shaped sleeve” (*bungeo baerae*), which was a newly introduced term. Wealthy families started to make hanbok with *yangjangi*, the word used to indicate imported fabric used for Western-style women’s clothes.

6. Designers’ hanbok era

With economic revival and reconstruction of the country (after the Korean War) in the late 1950s, women had more opportunities to take part in society and Korean fashion designers of Western-style clothes began to take an interest in making modified hanbok (*gaeryang* hanbok), applying Western sewing techniques to traditional pattern making and cutting. Norah Noh, the first generation of such fashion designers, produced the first so-called Arirang *jeogori*. Due to economic development the practice of entertaining business guests became widespread, and centered on expensive restaurants, women employees dressed in hanbok as they held performances and played hostess. This, however, served to degrade the image of hanbok. Around 1957, hanbok made with expensive imported velvet material was highlighted as the finest marriage articles for the bride.

With the spread of Western-style dress for women and import of fabric for such clothes in the late 1960s, hanbok came to be considered attire for major holidays and special occasions in the family, or as clothing worn only by the elderly. However, fabric to make hanbok was essential for *yedan*, traditional gifts of fabric to make clothes sent from the bride’s family to the groom’s family, and at the time it was the trend

to make a hanbok *jeogori* and skirt of the same fabric as if it were a Western-style suit. *Mulsilk* (literally “water silk”), which was actually polyester, became popular and while the patterns and colors on it were somewhat removed from traditional tastes, it was easy to wash and maintain.

In the 1970s, upon the occasion of the Miss Korea beauty pageant winner taking part in the international competition, first generation hanbok designer Lee Rheeza imbued modern style into traditional hanbok by using the gored cutting method and making the chest ties hang down very long to make the wearer look tall and slim. Though the *jeogori* was narrow the outer panel was cut on the diagonal to give the front more room, making it more comfortable for women when wearing a bra underneath. As hanbok was modernized and turned into formal wear, glossy *gongdan* (satin weave silk) was popular for making fancy hanbok decorated with gold leaf, silver leaf or embroidered designs.

In the 1980s the trend for *saenghwal hanbok* came in, that is, hanbok made more comfortable for daily wear. Practical, easy-to-wear fabrics and natural fabrics such as ramie and hemp were popular. With the progress of mass production and ready-to-wear fashion hanbok design was diversified as hanbok in Western-style and hanbok designed for various functions were developed. As people began to increasingly live in apartments and were able to stay warm even in winter, people began to talk about “*kkaekki* sewing in all four seasons.” This refers to the fact that it was possible to wear hanbok made with see-through organza and blind stitching (*kkaekki*) even in winter. In 1988, to commemorate the Seoul Olympic Games, hanbok designer Lee Younghee held a hanbok fashion show overseas to promote the beauty of hanbok



Hanbok, traditional Korean attire | Lee Jiyeong

materials and colors on an international level. When the Asian Games were held in Seoul in 1986 people began to talk about the need to preserve the unique beauty of traditional hanbok and at the same time others stressed the importance of modernizing hanbok for internationalization, which resulted in the emergence of hanbok without *dongjeong* (detachable collar band) and modern design hanbok wedding dresses. As a way of showing traditional culture many also maintained that it was important to show traditional hanbok during the Olympics, and therefore elegant skirts and jackets without elaborate decoration and half-length *durumagi* coats of middle tones became retro fashion.

The 1990s was a period of decline for hanbok. As traditional clothes were worn so infrequently fabric for hanbok was increasingly left out of the gifts a bride prepared for her in-

laws, and as heating and transportation systems improved wearing thin organza hanbok all year round became common practice. When interest in traditional hanbok declined and demand fell, industry and academia joined hands in an effort to stimulate interest in hanbok again, and “Hanbok Day” was inaugurated on December 4, 1996. Efforts were thus made to promote the development of both traditional hanbok and modernized everyday hanbok.

Going into the 2000s many hanbok designers held exhibitions or shows overseas to promote traditional clothing, designer hanbok, and court attire. In 2007 hanbok was included in the government project to develop “Han Style” (Korean style) and with the objective of internationalization and commercialization various projects were carried out to develop diverse designs and encourage people to wear hanbok

again. At the same time, hanbok rental shops began to flourish. However, this is also a cause for concern as some of the garments at rental shops are so-called “fusion hanbok” which lack the beauty of traditional hanbok.

From 2010 young people began to take particular interest in hanbok and in addition to traditional hanbok, *saenghwal hanbok* and designer hanbok, the terms “new hanbok” and “daily hanbok” also emerged. A new form of trendy hanbok harmonizing tradition with modern design became popular.

1. Diversity in simplicity

Though hanbok garments are simple shapes composed of straight lines and curves, within each shape the planes are divided by lines, and variation in design and beauty is achieved through color and decoration. Hanbok worn today in the 21st century have been worn from the Three Kingdoms period and through the ages by all people from young children to the elderly, varying in color, material and design.

2. High-standard costume culture

The basic form of hanbok is a two-piece set consisting of upper garment and lower garment. The upper garment is open at the front and the women's skirt is a wrap skirt falling to the feet. Depending on the way the skirt is wrapped the lines and silhouette can be varied to create different looks.

3. Names indicating design and order of wear

Hanbok garments go by a variety of names according to characteristics of shape, material, decorative designs, color, and weave. For example, the *jeogori* (jacket) is divided into *jangjeogori* (long) and *danjeogori* (short) according to

length. And according to the type of collar (*git*) it is called a variety of names, including *dangkogit jeogori*, *mokpangit jeogori*, *dunggeungit jeogori*, *mokpandangkogit jeogori*, and *kalgit jeogori*.

The basic form of *jeogori* has *gyeonmagi*, a patch of different colored cloth under the armpit. *Jeogori* decorated with *gyeonmagi*, collar, chest ties, and cuffs in material of a different color to the ground color are called *hoejang jeogori*. Sometimes *jeogori* are named according to the fabric or the fabric weave, such as *gapsa jeogori*, *sukgosa jeogori*, *yangdan jeogori*, *jinjusa jeogori*, *hangna jeogori*, *mosi jeogori*, *mumyeong jeogori*, and *mobondan jeogori*.

The color of the garment may also determine the name. For example *norang jeogori* (yellow), *bunhong jeogori* (pink), and *saekdong jeogori* (multicolored striped sleeves). Cotton padded jackets are called *som jeogori*, quilted jackets *nubi jeogori*, padded and quilted jackets *somnubi jeogori*, and embroidered jackets *su jeogori*. In addition *jeogori* are sometimes named after the decorative design and fabric, such as *yeonhwamundan jeogori* (silk jacket with lotus design) and *bosanghwamun jeogori* (jacket with *bosanghwa* design). *Bosanghwa* is an imaginary flower of Buddhism, whose name means “precious visage flower.”

Moreover, according to the way it is sewn and composed the jacket is called *hotjeogori* (unlined), *gyeopojeogori* or *mulgyeop jeogori* (lined), or *kkaekki jeogori* (sewn with blind stitch). The countless modifiers that can be added tell us about the shape, material, color, decorative designs and other details so that just the name alone is enough to describe a garment.

As seen in the above, there are some names that cover the whole garment and names for particular parts of a garment. For example *jeogori* and *durumagi* are composed of *gil* (front

and back panels), *somae* (sleeves), *jindong* (armhole), *git* (collar), *goreum* (chest ties), *bae-rae* (sleeve inseam), *sugu* (sleeve hem), *doryeon* (jacket hem), and *dongjeong* (detachable collar). The pants consist of *marupok* (outer part), *ke-un-sapok* (large inner part), *jageun-sapok* (small inner part), *buri* (hem), and *heori* (waist), and *gamagwi-meori* (part under the center of the waistband). The skirt (*chima*) is composed of the waistband, or chestband (*malgi*), *chimapok* (skirt), *chimakkeun* (skirt straps), and *jokkiheori* (bodice).

As a rule, the lower garment is always put on first and then the upper garment. The women's basic hanbok is also called *chima jeogori* (skirt + jacket) and the men's *baji jeogori* (pants + jacket), which reflects the order in which the garments are worn.

4. Turning the garment over at the openings

With hanbok the outer fabric and lining are cut to exactly the same size, sewn separately and then joined together. Openings are made in the lining so that the garment can be turned inside out so that the outer fabric ends up on top.

5. Closure with straps or ties

Hanbok closing fixtures are all strings or straps, including the straps on the waistband of the skirt, the straps on the waistband of men's pants and the ankle bands, the chest ties on the jacket and *durumagi* coat. The ribbon-like chest ties, called *goreum*, cannot be found on the traditional costume of any other country in the world and is thus one of the defining features of hanbok. As they move with the wind whenever a person walks they give a sense of movement and rhythm to the otherwise static image of hanbok. Just by changing the width, length and color of

the ties the aesthetic effect can be changed.

6. Volume from pleats

Hanbok garments are cut on straight lines and composed of flat planes, so volume is given by using pleats where the planes meet. Volume is mostly created in the lower garment. The women's skirt in the past was made of up to 12 *pok* (widths) of ramie cloth, pleated and sewn onto the waistband to make a very full skirt. As volume was concentrated on the lower garment, the center of gravity is also in the lower part, giving hanbok a sense of stability.

7. Sense of space created by small patches

Small square pieces of fabric folded diagonally are attached to the armpit and crotch, connecting the space between the front panel and back panel and giving depth to the flat surface. They also serve to enhance circulation and evaporate sweat to make movement easier. Depending on the size and color of the patches, they make a design point and thus have an aesthetic effect.

Seolbim

설빔

New clothes worn at New Year's Day

New clothes prepared for lunar New Year's Day (Seollal).

The exact history of how seolbim came to be worn is not known. Records regarding seasonal customs in the late Joseon Dynasty mention seolbim. *Gyeongdo japji* (Kor. 경도잡지, Chin. 京都雜誌, Eng. Miscellaneous Records of the Capital Hanyang) written by Yu Deuk-gong (1748-



Buying cloth for new clothes for the New Year | February 15, 1931 | Dong-A Ilbo

1807) says, “All males and females wear new clothes and this is called *sejang*.” *Yeolyang sesigi* (Kor. 열양세시기, Chin. 洊陽歲時記, Eng. Seasonal Festive Customs in the Capital) by Kim Maesun (1776-1840) says, “All people, male and female, young and old, wear newly made clothes, which is called *secheogeum*.” *Dongguk sesigi* (Kor. 동국세시기, Chin. 東國歲時記, Eng. A Record of Seasonal Customs in Korea) by Hong Seokmo (1781-1850), the latest of such books on seasonal customs, says, “Boys and girls all dress up in new clothes and this is called *sejang*.” These books have almost identical content regarding seolbim, however only *Dongguk sesigi* says “boys and girls” (as opposed to adult males and females), which is a small point of differ-

ence. Judging by these records, it can be presumed that seolbim was gradually worn only by children, but there are no clear grounds for this argument. That such records of seolbim exist from the late Joseon Dynasty makes it possible to guess that new clothes were worn on New Year’s Day before that time. In the modern era, the custom of preparing seolbim for male and female, young and old continued for a long time and to some extent even remains today.

Seolbim is called *sejang* (歲粧) or *sebieum* (歲庇蔭) in Chinese characters. The character for *se* here means the New Year, and according to the Chinese character dictionary *bieum* means protection of a lower person by a higher person just as the shade of an awning or a tree blocks rain

and snow. It is not known how this meaning relates to clothing.

The term seolbim is a compound of *seol* for New Year's Day and the verb *bieum*, which originally meant dressing up in new clothes for a banquet or holiday. So *seol+bieum* was shortened to seolbim. While seolbim in the strictest sense meant wearing new clothes on New Year's Day, it changed to mean the clothes worn on any holiday or festive occasion.

The custom of making greetings to one's elders on the first day of the New Year continued from the Three Kingdoms period through the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties. The day was spent in a special way and it seems new clothes would have been worn or old clothes cleaned up and put in order for the occasion. The term *sejang*, or *seolbim*, was presumably created in later times.

As clothes worn on the first day of the year, seolbim called for special preparations. Women would stay up nights weaving new cloth and sewing. The new clothes were finished around the last day of the year. The first month of the lunar New Year is spring in seasonal terms, but as the weather is still cold warm winter fabric is used to make seolbim. On the morning of Seollal, the family dress in their new clothes and hold memorial rites for their ancestors. In modern society, a silk *jeogori* and *nyuttong* (silk crepe) skirt often stood in for women's New Year's attire.

For adult men seolbim consisted of a new jacket (*jeogori*) and coat (*durumagi*), and for adult women a new jacket, skirt and coat. Men often wore another outer jacket and women a vest on top of the coat. The child's *saekdong jeogori* is the representative seolbim item. *Saekdong*, the striped sleeves in five colors, is also related to yin and yang and the five elements and symbolizes good fortune. Therefore the

saekdong jeogori was also worn when sacred clothing was required such as wedding attire, a baby's first birthday attire, and shaman costume. As seolbim is also a kind of ceremonial costume it represents warding off evil. Seolbim refers to the whole set of clothing aside from the basic jacket and pants or skirt to include socks and shoes. The clothes embody the idea of erasing the old year and greeting the new year with a reverent mind.

Encyclopedia of
Traditional Korean Clothing

한국의생활사전

SHOES

신발



Sinbal

신발
Shoes

The term used for all shoes worn on the feet when standing or walking on the ground.

Korean shoes went by diverse names according to function, material, purpose, and rank. The materials used were diverse, including leather, silk, wood, straw, cattails, and brass, and the shoes were often named after the material used.

Leather or leather and silk shoes were called *gatsin*, straw shoes were called *jipsin*, hemp and reed shoes were called *chohye*. Shoes made of cords, cattails, paper or leather were called *mituri*. Hemp shoes worn by the *jungin* class of technicians were called *mahye* and were used on dry ground, while *mituri* made of hemp twine were called *gu* (Kor. 구, Chin. 屨, lit. shoes). Mostly worn by Confucian scholars or the *jun-gin* class, *mituri* were known by many different names. Those roughly made with raw hemp were called *samsin*, those roughly made and worn at Buddhist temples were called *jeolchi*, strong, well-made shoes worn in the Tapgol area outside Dongdaemun Gate (east gate) were

called *tapgolchi*, those with rice starch pasted on the soles were called *muribadak*, those made of leather strips were called *gajuk mituri*, those made of twisted paper cords were called *jichong mituri*, and those made with the fibers of kudzu vines were called *cheongolchisin*. *Chohye* were divided into high, middle and low categories according to quality. Finely made ones were worn in the homes of the nobility, crudely made ones were worn by ordinary people and the low-born. As *jipsin* were made with straw, which was easily available, they were widely worn by the ordinary people. But they wore out quickly, so before taking a long trip people would stay up nights making extra pairs to take with them. Well-made *jipsin* were high-quality shoes, and *eomjipsin* were straw shoes worn by those in mourning from the beginning of the funeral rites to *jolgok*, the final round of ritual wailing. (This rite was held after *samuje*, the third of the post-burial memorial rites, and afterwards only daily ritual wailing and nightly ritual wailing called *seokgok* were conducted until the first death anniversary.) *Eomjipsin* were also called *gwalli* (grass shoes). Shoes made by hollowing out a piece of wood were called *namaksin*, but other names include *mokgeuk* (wooden clogs), *geukja* (baby clogs), and *gyeokji*. Worn on rainy days, the heel of the shoes was designed to stop mud or water from splashing onto the feet but some *namaksin* had no heels.

Shoes also had different names according to when they were worn. Shoes worn on a fine dry day were called *mareunsin* (lit. dry shoes), those worn on rainy days or on muddy ground were called *jinsin*, those worn on snow were called *seolpi* or *dongunisin*. *Hye* refers to a type of dry-weather shoe made of leather which was worn mostly by the upper classes. First the leather soles were made and then the base for



Various types of shoes | National Folk Museum of Korea



Various types of shoes | National Folk Museum of Korea

the uppers was made of layers of ramie and hemp pasted together, which were then covered in silk or leather. This category includes *taesahye*, shoes worn by upper-class men of the Joseon period, or *danghye* (shoes with scroll design) and *unhye* (shoes with cloud design) worn by upper class women and children. The leather shoes worn by the scholar-official class and silk shoes worn by upper-class women and children are dry-weather shoes, and according to the materials and decoration used the names differ. In form, men's shoes generally have slightly blunt toes but women's shoes have pointed toes. In both men's and women's shoes the toes are turned upwards.

The shoes worn by royalty were called *seok*. They were worn as a set with ceremonial attire by the king and the crown prince and the queen and the crown princess. *Seok* had double-layered soles made of leather and wood and were designed to keep the feet dry even when standing on the ground for a long time. The king's shoes were in the form of boots (*bwa*) and the queen's in the form of low shoes (*hye*).

Commoners wore *chori* (type of straw shoes), *mahye* (hemp shoes), *jihye* (paper shoes) and *namaksin* (wooden shoes), while women and children from ordinary families wore *unhye*, *namaksin*, and *yuhye* (oiled shoes).

Shoes developed while remaining faithful to their function of protecting the feet when walking as well as revealing the wearer's identity and satisfying the desire for beauty. Traditional Korean shoes were made with no distinction between the left and right feet. The left and right only become distinguishable after the shoes were worn for a long time and molded to the wearer's feet. Traditional shoes are also characterized by the sleek line from the low uppers rising to the back of the heel.

Danghye

당혜 唐鞋

Shoes with scroll design

Low shoes decorated with a scroll design at the heels and toes.

Judging from extant danghye, these shoes were made of leather and silk and were mostly worn by women of the Joseon Dynasty. However, many records indicate that they were also worn by men.

Most extant danghye date to the latter late Joseon Dynasty and their beautiful shape reveals the Joseon aesthetic, quite different to that of neighboring nations. They are characterized by the sleek curve that starts from the sharp, pointed toes, rapidly dips at the body of the shoe and extends to the heels.



Danghye | Length: 24 cm, Width: 7 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea

Gajukbeoseon

가죽버선

Leather shoes in the form of padded socks

Leather shoes in the form of high-necked padded socks that were once worn by herders on Jeju Island when they took care of grazing livestock.

On Jeju Island clothing and hats as well as everyday items began to be made using animal hide and fur because they were easy to obtain. These materials were used to make winter shoes and other items necessary for herders working in the mountains or fields to take care of livestock.

An account in *The Journal of Hendrick Hamel* (1668) attests to the use of sock-like leather shoes during the Joseon period: “At the time Yi Wonjin, county magistrate of Jeju, handed out to each of the castaways two pairs of shoes, a thick overcoat, and a pair of gajukbeoseon.”

Most homes made simple leather articles on their own. But gajukbeoseon or leather shoes, which required special skills, were mostly produced by professional craftsmen.

Gajukbeoseon were so named because they were made of leather (*gajuk*) and looked like traditional padded socks (*beoseon*). Basically, the shoe last of other shoe varieties for general use such as *hwaja* (Kor. 화, Chin, 靴)⁶⁴, *hye* (Kor. 혜, Chin. 鞋)⁶⁵, and *li* (Kor. 리, Chin. 履)⁶⁶ is composed of three parts: the ankle, top, and sole. However, gajukbeoseon, like padded socks, do not have a separate sole and were made by sewing the right and left sides together.

Dogskin was most commonly used for gajukbeoseon due to its easy availability. Deerskin



Gajukbeoseon | Length: 28 cm, Width: 30 cm | Modern era | Jeju National University Museum

was regarded as the highest grade of leather, followed by foalskin, which is soft and shiny. There are two types of gajukbeoseon: one is made with leather only, the other is made with a combination of leather below the ankle and fabric (cotton) above the ankle. They were also made in two lengths, the high version coming above the ankle and the short version a little bit lower.

In winter, herders on Jeju Island wore gajukbeoseon when going outdoors, along with a leather hat long enough to cover the nape, a leather overcoat, and leather leg warmers. Winter clothes made of animal hide or fur were commonly worn on Jeju Island and the number of such artifacts from Jeju exceeds that of other regions. In particular, Jeju leather hats and clothing have fur on the outside, which distinguishes them from similar items of Manchuria or Mongolia in the northern regions of Asia where fur was generally used on the inside.

64. Shoes that look like high-top shoes or boots.

65. In general, *hye* is the generic name for shoes with low uppers, except shoes made of grass, hemp, and wood. *Hye* were worn by people of the upper classes (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*). To put it simply, *hye* are shoes made of silk and in the same form as *gomusin* (rubber shoes).

66. *Li* are shoes similar to *hye* in shape, including straw shoes.

Jipsin

짚신
Straw shoes

Shoes made of plants or straw such as rice straw, hemp, and cattails to protect the wearer's feet.

The types of straw shoes vary depending on material and use. By material, they are classified as jipsin (Kor. 짚신, lit. straw shoes), made of rice straw; *samsin*, made of hemp; *wanggolsin*, made of sedge, which is an industrial crop; *cheongolchisin*, made of the twisted inner bark of kudzu vines; and *budeulsin*, made of cattails found growing in low swampy areas. Straw shoes made of sedge or hemp are more solid and durable than those made with rice straw.

By use, straw shoes are categorized as *goun-jipsin*, *makchi*, *eomjipsin*, and *donggunisin*. *Goun-jipsin* are shoes for women made of soft straw. *Makchi* are so called because they were roughly made (*mak*). They are crude shoes made with rough, thick rice straw and were generally worn by servants. In addition, *eomjipsin*, which were worn by the chief mourner (*sangju*), are straw shoes loosely and roughly woven on purpose. *Dunggunisin* are straw boots for winter which prevent sliding and keep the feet warm on a snowy day. Although the kinds of straw shoes are varied according to material and purpose, they all go by the generic name of jipsin.

As making jipsin required no special skills most households made their own. However, the *yangban* (nobility) had their servants make them or bought them ready-made. People living in poverty made jipsin and sold them at the markets, and merchants selling straw shoes were a common sight at the markets until the first

half of the 1900s.

Jipsin were worn even before the ancient Three Kingdoms period (57 BCE to 688 CE) of Korea. They are the representative item of traditional Korean footwear, and aside from protecting the feet they were also used as ceremonial footwear or for various other purposes in daily life. In particular, jipsin are distinct in that they were made of easily available materials such as rice straw, sedge, and cattails. However,



Jipsin, straw shoes | Length: 27 cm, Width: 8 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea



Jipsin, Seongha jikgu (Making Straw Shoes On A Hot Day) by Kim Deuksin | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation



Seller of straw shoes | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea

these traditional straw shoes had a major drawback; they were easily worn out, unlike modern footwear, so travelers had to go to the trouble of carrying several pairs in their packs when traveling a long way. Jipsin, based on the materials and production techniques used, were also an indicator of the wearer's social status and economic conditions. Moreover, these straw shoes, which were firmly established as traditional footwear and worn until the 1920s when rubber shoes were first made, were an environmentally friendly and beautiful item essential to everyday life.

Mituri

미투리

High-quality hemp or ramie woven shoes

High-quality shoes made with hemp, ramie, or rope.

Mituri were also called *samsin* (lit. hemp shoes), and in other Chinese-character words they were also called *mahye* (hemp shoes), *manghye* (shoes made of barley silks), and *seunghye* (rope shoes). Finely made mituri were sometimes worn by members of the scholar-official class (*sadaebu*) when they went on an outing. Though they were of higher quality than straw shoes called *jipsin*, with the emergence of shoes made of leather or cloth mituri gradually shifted from being the shoes of scholar-officials to high-quality shoes worn by the ordinary people.

Often made with paper, silk thread, and other luxurious materials they were high-quality shoes worn by the *yangban* (nobility) and ordinary people alike. Different types of mituri



Mituri | National Folk Museum of Korea

include *jeolchi* (rough shoes), *tapgolchi* (strong shoes made with leather soles and studs), *mu-ribadak* (shoes made with rice paste on the soles), and *jichong* (paper shoes) according to the material used or place of production.

Made with good materials finely woven together, mituri were stronger than straw shoes.

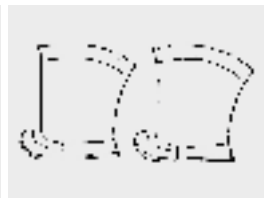


Mokhwa are black shoes that were worn by the king and government officials with their official uniform during the late Joseon Dynasty. Ordinary citizens were allowed to wear the officials' uniform as wedding attire, so men who did not serve in a government post were permitted to wear the *dallyeong* robe with embroidered rank badge on the chest and mokhwa on their feet on the day they got married.

Mokhwa is the most widely used name for long-necked shoes. Records indicate that they were first worn around the 19th century. Pictures from that time show that mokhwa were shorter in length than shoes from the early Joseon period and in many cases the sole was made to be flat on the ground. Along with such changes in form, it seems the name of such shoes was changed to mokhwa because they were made of wooden material (*mok*) or because they reached up to the ankles (*bal**mok*).



Heukhwa, Black shoes in *jinchon uigwe* (state record of a royal banquet) | Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies



Suhwaja, Waterproof boots in *Jinchon uigwe* (state record of a royal banquet) | Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies

Mokhwa

목화 木靴

Boots for official uniform

Long-necked boots, worn by the king and government officials with their official uniform.



Boots for official uniform | Height: 28 cm, Length: 26 cm, Width: 7 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea

Myeoksin

먹신
Straw boots

Ankle-high straw boots worn for protection against the cold.

Myeoksin were worn for protection against the cold in snowy weather and also to prevent slipping. Characterized by their deep shaft and similar in appearance to the basket called *donggumi*, they were also called *donggumi* shoes or *donguni* shoes. They were made by placing three or four straws on the floor and plaiting them to make the sole, then braiding the straws up the sides to ankle height then coming down again so that there were composed of two layers, and finally finishing them off at the sole. Made this way, the beginning and ends cannot be seen and as the shoes are double layered they are thick and good at retaining heat. They were made big so that they could be worn over ordinary shoes and were especially useful in areas that received a lot of snow.



Myeoksin (Donggunisin, Straw boots) | Length: 26 cm, Height: 13 cm, Width: 8.5 cm | 1991 | National Folk Museum of Korea

Namaksin

나무신
Wooden shoes

Wooden shoes made by hollowing out a piece of wood.

Namaksin were worn by people of all ages and social status. They were good for rainy or snowy days because they had high heels that made them suitable to wear on wet ground. However, they were heavy and not easy to walk in so they were not worn when going on horseback or making a long journey. Namaksin were often worn on sunny days also and when the heels wore out the old ones could be replaced with new ones. *Ojuyeon munjang jeonsango* (*Collected Works of Oju*), an encyclopedic book authored by the late Joseon practical learning (*silhak*) scholar Yi Gyugyeong, says that the noise made by wooden shoes was thought to be rude, so lower class people or young people would not dare to wear them in front of *yangban* (nobility) or the elderly. In the late Joseon Dynasty, namaksin



Namaksin, Wooden shoes | Detail from *Daekwaedo*, attributed to Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Museum of Korea



Manger-shaped wooden shoes | Length: 16.5 cm, Width: 6.5 cm, Height: 6 cm | Early 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Danghye-style wooden shoes | Length: 14.4 cm | Joseon | Sookmyung Women's University Museum



Gondola-style wooden shoes | Height: 16 cm, Length: 25.5 cm, Width: 7.5 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Taesahye-style wooden shoes | Length: 28 cm, Height: 14 cm | Joseon | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum

were considered the symbol of the poor and honest scholar. Since the *yangban* of Joseon never wore *jipsin* or *mituri*, the straw shoes worn by commoners, some wore namaksin even on fine days. Since many poor scholars who resided in Namsangol in Seoul went around in wooden shoes on sunny days, they were sometimes called *namsangol ttalkkakbari* after the loud clacking sound of the shoes. When rubber shoes came on the market in 1910, namaksin gradually went out of fashion and around 1940 they disappeared completely.

Nokpihye

녹피혜 鹿皮鞋

Deerskin shoes

Low-cut shoes made with deerskin, which were worn with everyday clothes by the *yangban* (nobility) of the Joseon Dynasty.

Nokpihye were made of deerskin and milk white in color. Generally, they were simple and not decorated with designs but were classy shoes thanks to the quality of the material. *Hae-dong yeoksa* (*History of Korea*), a history book compiled by the late Joseon practical learning



Nokpihye | Length: 26 cm, Width: 8 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Nopari | From Gukhakdogam | Iljogak

(*silbak*) scholar Han Chiyun, mentions that the rich wore deerskin shoes, evidence that deerskin was considered a premium material for shoes. People of the ruling class of Joseon wore nokpihye with their everyday clothes. Although many more people began to wear *hye* (shoes with low uppers) in the latter Joseon period, deerskin was still a high quality material. So it seems nokpihye were mostly worn by the upper class.

Extant nokpihye date mostly to the latter late Joseon Dynasty. They have a unique beauty of form that distinguishes them from the shoes worn in neighboring countries. Nokpihye are characterized by the sleek curve that starts from the pointed toe, drops sharply at the body and rises again leading to the heel.

feet from cold and chilblains in winter. High-end nopari were made of thick woolen fabric and those worn by commoners were made with padded cotton, while some had a hemp sole. Nopari were worn by everyone from the upper class to the lower class, and were a product of wisdom into the ways of surviving cold winters in the days when there were no heating systems. Unlike *jipsin* made only of straw, nopari or *myeoksins*⁶⁷ were made by mixing other materials with straw. As a result, nopari were soft and warm and therefore suitable to wear in winter. Nopari were made with materials such as woolen fabric, hemp, paper, cotton, linen, sedge, and dried arrowroot bark.

67. Ankle-high winter boots made of straw. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

Nopari

노파리

Winter indoor shoes

Winter indoor shoes indigenous to Korea made by weaving together cords of plaited hemp, paper, or straw.

Nopari were winter shoes worn to protect the

Seok

석목

Shoes with wooden soles

Double-soled shoes with wood on the bottom to prevent the shoes from getting wet from dirt or moisture.

Seok are shoes of the highest standard of the Joseon Dynasty, worn with ceremonial attire when conducting ceremonies or rites. Taking into account the great length of time people spent standing on bare ground when conducting rites, wood was laid at the bottom of the shoes to prevent cold and moisture from penetrating them.

Seok were not originally high-necked shoes but with changes over their long history they did come up to the ankles at one time. But with

the intensification of ritual studies in the latter late Joseon Dynasty, seok were returned to their original form with only the uppers and no neck. The structure and name of the shoes also reflect characteristic Joseon customs. The main feature distinguishing seok from other shoes is their double-layered sole with a layer of wood between the layers. In later times the wood was removed and the shoes continued to be worn throughout the Joseon period.

In traditional society different kinds of shoes were worn for each ritual and ceremonial occasion. Seok were shoes of the highest grade and their use was limited to only those with special rank inside the royal palace.

Seolpi

설피雪地
Snow shoes

Snowshoes attached to the soles of ordinary shoes to enable people to walk over snow without sinking.

Seolpi (Kor. 설피, Chin. 雪皮, lit. snow skins) are snowshoes attached to ordinary shoes to make it possible to walk in snow. They were worn by people living in mountainous areas with heavy snowfall so that they could walk in places covered with snow or on snowy slopes without sinking or slipping. In particular, hunters wore seolpi in winter when they set out after heavy snow to hunt wild boars or other animals. The frames were made with branches from various trees such as the temple juniper, retuse ash, Korean chestnut, and oak. The branches were heated and curved into an oval shape. The webbed



Cheongseok, blue shoes worn by King Yeongchin's consort | Length: 25 cm, Height: 5.9 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Cheongmal, blue socks worn by King Yeongchin's consort | Length: 33 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Length: 42 cm, Width: 29.5 cm | 1950s



Length: 43 cm, Width: 16.5 cm

Seolpi, snow shoes | National Folk Museum of Korea

sole was made with twisted vine pear stalks and attached to the frame in two lines (二) or in a crosshatch pattern (井). Seolpi were worn by placing them on the ground first then placing the shoed feet on top, then tying the snowshoes to the shoes with strings made of hemp, leather, or bark.

Seolpi were most commonly made with branches from ten year old temple juniper or re-tuse ash trees. These branches bend easily, which made them suitable for making the snowshoes, and were easy to obtain in mountainous regions. First the bark was removed from the branches then soaked in hot water or heated and slowly bent to make an oval shape. Soaking the branches makes them more pliable while dry branches tend to break easily. When the oval

shape was made, the joining ends were trimmed with a knife and tied together in two spots with strips of bush clover bark. Then with cords made of hemp or other material the webbing was tied to the frame and lacings were tied on also. In size, seolpi were usually around 40 cm long and 20 cm wide, but in areas of heavy snow the bigger the snowshoes the better. The broader the surface coming into contact with the snow the better it was at preventing the feet from sinking into the snow. The broad width at the ball of the foot made the snowshoes very safe to wear but on the other hand it was difficult to walk because the feet had to kept wide apart. This meant people had to walk in zigzag fashion. Snowshoes such as seolpi were used not only in Korea but also by the indigenous peoples of Japan, Siberia and North America. Though different in shape they all functioned in the same way as crampons or cleats used in the West. On thin snow or ice, however, it may actually have been more slippery to walk in snowshoes.

Taesahye

태사혜 太史鞋

Men's leather shoes

Shoes with toes and heels decorated with *taesamun* (scroll design) worn by the *yangban* (nobility) of the Joseon Dynasty.

Taesahye were worn with everyday attire (*pyeonbok*) and became very popular among upper-class men from the mid-Joseon period. After the king began to wear the taesahye with *pyeonbok*, upper-class men followed suit. The toes and heels of the shoes were decorated

with a scroll design called *taesamun*. Taesahye for children were made of leather and different colored silk. Taesahye, perfectly paired with a silky black *gat* (formal hat) made in Tongyeong, were high-end shoes made of leather with the heels dyed a pale color and decorated with black lines.

Taesahye were made in differing color combinations depending the age of the wearer. Black and white leather was used for the uppers of the shoes (*sinul*)⁶⁸ and decorated with lines and white *nun* on the heel and toe. When jade green leather was used the *nun* were navy colored. When light green leather was used for the uppers, designs representing longevity and happiness and purple *nun* were used to decorate them. Such shoes were mostly worn by children. For adults, black leather uppers were decorated

with purple *nun* on the heels; for seniors, white leather was decorated with white *nun*. The outsole was densely studded.

Danghye are women's shoes that look similar to taesahye. They had the same basic structure as taesahye and were mostly worn by elderly upper-class women. There are two pairs of extant *danghye* worn by King Yeongchin's consort. Brocade with red peony designs was used for the uppers with dark jade green and light green silk for the borders to decorate the *hoejang* (heels). White leather is used in the section where the outsole and the uppers meet. Cotton padding was used in the bottom of the shoes to soften the insoles. The outsole was made of leather and the front and back were backstitched one more time with the Chinese character *gung* (meaning palace) written on it with ink.

68. *Sinul* is the side of the shoes, or the uppers.



Taesahye, men's leather shoes with scroll design | Length: 18.3 cm, Width: 5.8 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Children's taesahye shoes | Length: 15 cm, Width: 5.5 cm | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Folk Museum of Korea

Taraebeoseon

타래버선

Children's padded socks

Children's socks with embroidery on either side and colorful tassels attached to the toes.

Taraebeoseon are socks for children, who wore them before their first birthday until the age of two or three. In general, *beoseon*, traditional socks, were mostly made of plain white cotton, but children's socks were colorfully decorated to make them look more attractive.

Depending on season, taraebeoson were lined instead of padded and quilted; and sometimes only tassels were attached without any



Length: 20.6 cm
Modern era
National Palace Museum of Korea

Length: 21 cm
Japanese colonial period
National Folk Museum of Korea

Taraebeoseon, Children's padded socks

decorative embroidery. Straps were attached to the heels of the socks, which were tied at the ankle to prevent the socks from easily coming off.

The color of the ankle straps served to distinguish boys' socks from girls.' Dark blue straps were attached to the back of the ankle in the boys' socks and red straps to the girls' socks. Designs expressing wishes for the health and happiness of the children were embroidered with threads of five colors. As the socks had to be washed often they were mostly made of cotton. When children's socks wore out, they were patched with red cloth signifying good luck. Today, taraeboseon are often included in a set of ceremonial clothes worn on the baby's first birthday.

Tuhye

투혜 套鞋

Overshoes

Overshoes worn for warmth or to prevent the shoes from getting dirty.

Tuhye (Kor. 투혜, Chin. 套鞋, lit. shoe cover) often appear in records as a set with *jeong* and *hwa*, the long-necked shoes worn as part of official uniform. They are overshoes, worn over *hwa* to provide added warmth in cold weather or to prevent the shoes from getting dirty. *Jeong* are shoes that look like and have a similar function to the padded socks called *beoseon*. *Joseon wangjo sillok* (*Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*) mentions rules regarding the wearing of tuhye and that they were presented as gifts to envoys and officials. During the reign of King Taejong officials were only permitted to wear *buntuhye*, which were worn to keep the feet warm,

when greeting the king at morning assemblies or when sending off or welcoming a royal procession. Those who were ill and weak and wore tuhye of their own accord were permitted to wear them on other occasions also and we can know they were used to protect from cold. Also, *Songnap jabji* (Kor. 송납잡지, Chin. 松南雜識, Eng. Encyclopedic Knowledge of Songnam) says that all *yuhye* (oiled shoes) and *subhye* (water shoes) were worn to block mud and that *daebuntu*, made for the same purpose, were not made of wood but were reinforced with leather, indicating that they were worn to keep the shoes from getting dirty.

In *Yeonamjip* (Kor. 연암집, Chin. 燕巖集, Eng. Collected Writings of Park Jiwon) from the 18th century, Park Jiwon criticized the extravagance of the ruling class, who wore tuhye for fear of getting their shoes dirty even when they were riding a handcart.

Tuhye were an important gift item bestowed on envoys and officials by the king. When envoys were sent to Beijing or when envoys came from China, the king would bestow on them a pair of leather shoes and overshoes. Tuhye were also a necessary item for the groom dressed in an official's uniform on his wedding day, as mentioned in *Miam ilgi* (Kor. 미암일기, Chin. 眉巖日記, Eng. Diary of Miam). However, there are few records of tuhye being worn by members of the royal family, who had little occasion to go anywhere on foot.

As they were not shoes worn directly on the feet but a covering worn over shoes, tuhye were large and strongly made of leather. They were mostly worn by the upper classes.

Unhye

운혜 雲鞋

Shoes decorated with clouds and other designs

Shoes decorated on the heels and toes which were worn during the Joseon Dynasty.

Unhye, as a type of shoes where the toes and heels were decorated with patterns in a different color, were mostly worn by women of upper-class families of the Joseon Dynasty. They were also called *onhye* because fur insoles were placed at the bottom of the shoes, or *jebiburisin*



Unhye, men's shoes with cloud design | Length: 26 cm, Width: 5.5 cm | Latter half 18th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Unhye, women's shoes with cloud design | Length: 18 cm, Width: 5 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea

due to their appearance resembling a swallow bill (*jebiburi*). These traditional women's shoes are characterized by their decorated toes and heels. The toes at the front are called *ammaguri*, while the heels are *dwinmaguri*. Such a style was reflected in rubber shoes when they began to be produced during Korea's enlightenment period and has been maintained to date. The uppers of the unhye were made of yellow, red, light blue, yellow green, dark pink, or green silk cloth and a contrasting color such as green, navy, red, and purple colored silk was used for the heels and toes. The harmony of the flamboyant colors and sleek curved shape enhance their elegant appearance.

Yuhye

유혜 油鞋

Oiled rain shoes with studded soles

Shoes worn on rainy days or on muddy ground that were made of oiled leather with studs on the soles.

Yuhye (Kor. 유혜, Chin. 油鞋, lit. oil shoes) were made only with leather, not silk, and were therefore also classified as *jinsin*, or leather shoes. They were made in the same way as shoes worn on dry ground but the leather was soaked in perilla oil for one month to make the shoes water-resistant. The soles of the shoes were also oiled to avoid water penetrating them. Some yuhye had soles edged with two lines of cleats and some with cleats densely placed in the middle of the soles as well. Because of the cleats, yuhye were also called *jingsin*, with *jing* meaning "studs." Another name used was *ihae*



Yuhye, rain shoes | Length: 28.5 cm, Width: 7.5 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea

women's were mostly in the shape of *oekosin*, *danghye*, and *unhye*. *Joseon wangjo sillok* (*Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*) contains records on *tu* (套), low boots that were worn on rainy days like yuhye. *Tu*, also called *tua* (套兒), were made of wood and designed for rainy days.

(Kor. 이혜, Chin. 泥鞋, lit. mud shoes) since they were made by soaking the leather in oil to prevent water from penetrating the shoes or from being stained when worn on muddy ground. Yuhye were made of cowhide, horsehide, and dog skin, all characterized by their thickness and durability, and had thick soles. They were mostly worn by scholar-officials and women of the upper-class.

Yuhye were functional footwear worn on rainy days or on wet ground because they were made not to get muddy or wet. The shape and decoration were similar to those of dry weather shoes, but yuhye did not get wet on muddy ground and were highly durable since they were made of oiled leather. Shoes made of brass were also called yuhye but in this case the name had a different meaning. Yuhye for men were mostly shaped like the shoes called *taesahye*, while



Encyclopedia of
Traditional Korean Clothing

한국의생활사전

ACCESSORIES AND ORNAMENTS

치장 / 장식

Accessories 장신구

Jangsingu 장신구

Hair ornaments 머리장식

Body accessories 신체장식

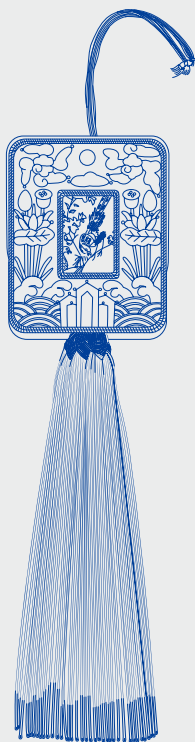
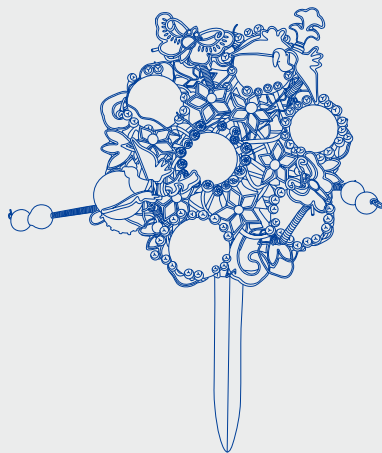
Costume accessories 의복장식

Hairstyles 머리모양

Makeup 화장

Accessories

장신구



Jangsingu

장신구
Accessories

Items that are used to adorn the body or clothing.

Humans have the instinctive desire to look beautiful and made wide use of accessories to satisfy this desire. The history of accessories in Korea is also very long, as evidenced by the jade tubes made by grinding jade stones and necklaces made of animal bones that were discovered in prehistoric sites. After passing through the Bronze Age and entering the Three Kingdoms period, luxurious accessories of gold, silver and gilt-bronze were made with a high level of craftsmanship and were widely worn. With the development of society, accessories came to take on various functions and symbolism. They were worn on the body as charms to ward off evil spirits or became an important tool in all rites of passage, and carried out the social function of symbolizing the wearer's social class and rank.

Accessories were a part of the lives of the Korean ancestors that changed through the ages, from the brilliant gold ornaments of the Three Kingdoms period to the simple yet varied accessories of the Joseon Dynasty. More than a simple means of ornamentation, they were a standard for showing exchange with foreign civilizations and embodied everyday narratives and wishes for wealth and honor, good fortune and expulsion of evil. As a part of the costume culture, accessories are like a mirror reflecting the sentiments and aesthetics of their time.

In Joseon society with its emphasis on Confucian virtues, there were differences in accessories in terms of type, color, decorative de-



Various accessories | 19th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Men's hair ornaments | National Folk Museum of Korea



Crown of jokduri coronet | National Folk Museum of Korea

signs, and material according to the rank of the wearer. Accessories made with materials such as gold, silver, jade, jadeite, coral, agate, and amber were worn by the upper class and were handed down as heirlooms. But due to the burden of having to pay tribute to the Ming Dynasty in gold and as a policy to avoid paying such tribute, the use of gold was banned not only on clothing but all sorts of items. For this reason the use of pure gold was strictly limited. Even in the palace, gilt-bronze was mainly used and it was not until late Joseon that pure gold accessories were made. Aside from gold, all sorts of gems and jade were used for ornamentation as well as enamel and jadeite, producing clean and elegant accessories with diverse beauty. Ordinary people wore simple accessories made of materials such as bronze, white copper, wood, horn, and bone. There were also differences in the designs that could be used. The dragon and phoenix were symbols of the authority and dignity of the royal family so they were motifs used only in the royal palace. But for a wedding, even ordinary women had the special right to wear a hairpin with dragon ornament (*yongjam*) and all sorts of other hairpins (*binyeo*) and fluttering hairpins (*tteoljam*) regardless of social class or rank.

HAIR ORNAMENTS

머리장식

Binyeo

비녀

Hairpin, hair rod

Ornamental hairpin used to fix a woman's chignon in place.

The binyeo is mainly designed to tidy up women's hair and also serves ornamental purposes. Binyeo come in two types: one is to pin the hair and the other to fix flower coronets such as *hwagwan* and *jokduri* in place. The binyeo used to pin women's hair had different names depending on material and the shape of the head of the pin (*jamdu*). They also had different usages, for formal dress, for daily use, by season and by age.

The binyeo worn with coronets were stuck directly into the coronet to fix it in place. In the case of the *hwagwan* coronet the hairpins were inserted on either side for decorative purposes, and in the case of the *jokduri* coronet, the hairpin was used to fix the headpiece in place but was kept out of sight.

The shape of the head of the binyeo generally represents women's fidelity or carries an auspicious meaning, and expresses prayers for wealth, longevity, and many sons. Binyeo with plum blossom or bamboo designs that symbol-



Binyeo | Length: 9-15 cm | Joseon | Sookmyung Women's University Museum



Binyeo | Detail of the Portrait of Gyewolhyang | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea

ize women's fidelity, reflecting Confucian virtue, enjoyed great popularity among Joseon women. On Dano, a traditional holiday that falls on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month, women carried out *danojang*,⁶⁹ which are set customs to adorn the body and get rid of evil spirits. Moreover, they also wore the *changpojam*, a type of binyeo made of iris roots, with the characters for longevity and good fortune inscribed on

it and rouge applied to the tip. As binyeo had symbolic meanings, they were more than just ornaments for the hair.

The binyeo was the sign of a married woman, and it was at the *gyerye* rite, part of their coming-of-age ceremony, that most girls wore this traditional hair pin for the first time in their lives. When their parents passed away, women took out their binyeo and let their hair down, indicating that they believed they were the ones who caused their parents to die. Three days after their parents' death, they put their hair up in a chignon again and fixed it with a binyeo made of wood. The wooden hair pin was worn until the three-year mourning ended as a token of frugality and discretion. In addition, when a woman was jailed for a crime, she had to remove her hair pins to let hair down regardless of her status or wealth.

69. On Dano Day, women wore newly made clothes and washed their hair with water infused with irises in the hope of chasing away evil spirits. Here *danojang* refers to a variety of acts women carried out to adorn themselves.

Cheopji

첩지疊紙

Ornamental hairpin worn by court women

Hair ornament fixed in the middle of a chignon which was worn by the queen, the wife of the crown prince, and women with official ranks living inside the palace (*naemyeongbu*) or outside the palace (*oemyeongbu*) during the Joseon Dynasty.

The cheopji (Kor. 첩지. Chin. 疊紙) was originally used to fix ceremonial coronets (*jokduri*)



Cheopji, hair ornament | Length: 6.3 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea

with chignons in the wake of the ban imposed on *gache* during the reigns of King Yeongjo and Jeongjo. According to *Gungjungbalgi*, written estimates on items needed for court events, the cheopji is recorded as *tyeopji*, *chyeopji*, or *cheom*. This hair ornament was used by the queen, the wife of the crown prince, *sanggung* (court ladies), and women of high birth. As decorative features, shape, and materials used differed depending on rank, the cheopji served as a status symbol. Women of the ruling classes were allowed to wear the cheopji only with ceremonial attire. At court, all women normally wore different cheopji according to rank during the daytime and removed them only when going to bed at night.

As dragons and phoenixes were symbols of the monarchy, the empress wore a dragon-shaped gilt cheopji and the queen and the crown prince's wife wore phoenix-shaped gilt cheopji. Women with official rank living inside and outside the palace wore frog-shaped cheopji made of gilt metal, silver, or brass. Wives of civil and military officials of senior first rank or junior first rank used gilded frog-shaped cheopji; wives of civil and military officials of senior second rank and junior second rank wore frog-shaped cheopji with a gilded head and tail; and court ladies wore a frog-shaped cheopji made of silver. From ancient times the frog was used to express a variety of symbolic meanings. However, in Joseon, the frog was found only on the

cheopji among women's ornaments. A legend included in *Samguk yusa* (*Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*) has it that when Haeburu, the king of Buyeo, was offering a devout prayer to heaven, he found a baby boy who looked like a golden frog under a rock in a deep pond; later the boy would grow to be King Geumwa. The frog carries a sacred meaning associated with royal authority and, as an animal that lay hundreds to thousands of eggs at a time, also seems to have been used as a symbolic device to pray for the prosperity of the royal family.

Materials used to make cheopji differed according to the wearer's circumstances. According to Kim Myeong-gil, one of the last court ladies of the Korean Empire who attended on Empress Sunjeong, a court lady who failed to become a concubine of the king wore silver cheopji with the middle section painted gold to mark her status. Women in mourning wore cheopji made of black rhino horn (*heukgak*). As items used during the mourning period were all incinerated afterwards, no such cheopji survives to date. Meanwhile, court ladies continued to wear silver cheopji even when in mourning.

In its basic shape, cheopji consisted of a flat body about 5-7 cm long and with the tails sleekly curved and pointing upward. Different types of cheopji had a different ornament in the center. Because the cheopji sat in the middle of the part in the hair it could not be fixed in place on its own. So black fabric was attached under the cheopji and a long and thin braid was tied to it. The hair was parted in the middle and the cheopji was placed in front and the braids on both sides were combed in the same direction of the real hair and tied into a chignon. As shown in the picture taken the day the funeral bier of King Sunjong was being carried out, the court lady with gray hair wore cheopji with black

braids, showing a striking contrast.

Cheopji began to be worn for the practical purpose of fixing the *jokduri*, a type of coronet, on the head but they gradually changed in role and became a symbol of social status or rank or circumstances of the wearer. Unlike other hair accessories commonly worn by royalty and ordinary women, cheopji were restricted to women living in the palace and women of high birth. In addition, only several decorative designs symbolizing the royal family and prayers for the prosperity of the royal family could be used. Cheopji were one of the women's ornaments unique to the Joseon era.

Daenggi

댕기
Hair ribbon

Cloth hair ribbon used to tie the hair to make it look neat or for ornamental purposes.

Daenggi were originally called *danggi*, which comes from the verb *danggida*, meaning “to pull.” This indicates the daenggi was an item used to pull or draw back the hair. It was used not only in braided hair but to tidy up and ornament a variety of hairstyles. They developed in diverse forms, varying in length and width according function, the gender and age of the user, and decorative designs. In recent research, daenggi has hence been defined as a textile hair ornament used to tie the hair, tidy it or ornament it. That is, of all the diverse hair ornaments, the daenggi is the only one made entirely of fabric rather than precious metals or gems.

Considering the function of daenggi, this

hair ribbon must be used at the stage when the hair is being brushed in order to complete a certain hairstyle.

Donggot

동곳
Hairpin for men's topknot

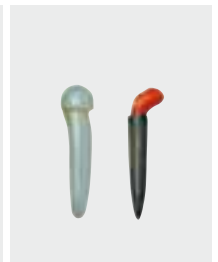
Accessory used to keep a man's topknot in place.

The donggot is a men's hairpin that has a similar function to the women's *binyeo* and arose from the custom of men wearing their hair in a topknot. The Chinese-character term for donggot is *donggwon* (同串 or 童串).

An essential hair utensil for men, donggot was used from ancient times through the Joseon Dynasty. The ancient topknot hairpin was U-shaped while the Joseon Dynasty version was a straight horizontal rod. Though changing in form there was no change in its essential purpose of keeping a man's hair tidy to maintain etiquette and dignity. As most of the hairpin was hidden inside the topknot it was not very visible and therefore was not heavily decorated with designs or ornaments. Instead, style was expressed through the choice of material, and the donggot was established as the major hair accessory of Joseon men.



Silver topknot hairpins | Length: 5.1-9.6 cm | Goryeo | National Museum of Korea



Topknot hairpin | Length: 3.7-4.5 cm | Joseon | Sookmyung Women's University Museum

Dwikkoji

뒤꽂이

Ornamental hairpin worn in a chignon

Hair accessory used as added ornamentation with the *binyeo*.

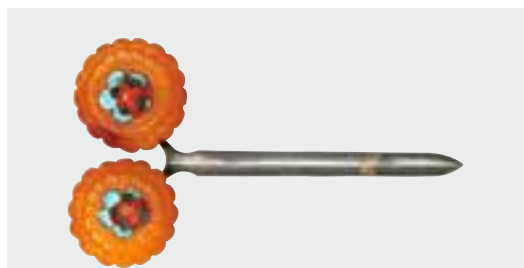
Dwikkoji is a hair pin that was added to a woman's chignon already fixed with a *binyeo* to enhance the beauty of the back of a woman's head.

It was made of gilded metals, silver, white copper, jadeite or coral. Rules were in place regarding the material that could be used according to rank or social status. Those made of jadeite, coral and purple agate were worn by women of the upper class and in the late Joseon Dynasty women of the royal court and of the *sadaebu* class (scholar-officials) wore dwikkoji made of pure gold or jade. In summer, jadeite

or white jade were popular for their cool feeling while warmer looking materials such as gilded metals, coral and agate were used in winter. It is thought dwikkoji made of silver would have been worn regardless of season.

Dwikkoji highlighted a woman's hair already neatly fixed in a chignon with a *binyeo* and was the finishing touch to the beautiful back appearance of Joseon women. Items originally used as combs (*bitchigae dwikkoji*)⁷⁰ or earpicks (*grwiigae dwikkoji*) that were also used as hair pins reflect the wisdom of past Koreans who combined beauty with function. These hair pins were decorated with various motifs, including lotus blossoms, a symbol of purity and eternal life; bamboo, chrysanthemums and plum blossoms, which are symbols of fidelity and integrity; butterflies, birds, bees and flowers, which are symbols of conjugal harmony and prosperity; and the characters *su* (收) and *bok* (復), and mushroom of immortality as symbols of longevity. Dwikkoji embodied Joseon women's will to maintain the womanly virtues and have a healthy and happy family.

70. Item originally used to part the hair or to clean combs that gradually became so decorative that they were pinned in the hair.
(KOCCA, http://www.culturecontent.com/dictionary/dictionaryView.do?cp_code=cp0445&dic_seq=57 2020.09.18)



Chrysanthemum-shaped ornamental hairpin worn in a chignon | Length: 7 cm, Width: 4.2 cm | 19th century



Length: 18.4 cm, Width: 4.8 cm | 20th century



Length: 6.7 cm, Width: 0.7 cm | 20th century

Dwikkoji | National Folk Museum of Korea

Gache

가체 加髻

Women's big wig

Ornamental wig made of human hair which was reinforced with various other materials to give it more volume and decorated with accessories.

Gache (Kor. 가체, Chin. 假髻, lit. false braids) generally refers to a detachable wig that was worn for ornamental purposes. It was an item that gave rise to many social problems from the mid-Joseon period when it became a widespread practice for women, regardless of class or rank, to decorate their heads with a large amount of hair. This drove up the price of human hair and many people spent a lot of money on decorating their wigs with extravagant accessories.

Made of human hair, the gache was constructed with the hair of one or more people braided together. To make sure that the hair did not come loose, after the gache was fixed to the head the top part was tied with a piece of cloth or sewn in place. Lengths of braided hair called *dari* varied greatly in size, ranging from short pieces 20-30 cm long and the width of a finger to around 1 meter long and 5-6 cm thick. According to purpose, *dari* were made in various forms: hair gathered together and plaited to form one large braid, hair cut and tied together at the top only, braids attached to *cheopji*,⁷¹ an ornamental hairpin worn in the royal court, and a braided piece worn in the form of a chignon.

However, women were banned from wearing gache from the eighth month of 1756 (32nd year of the reign of King Yeongjo). A reference to this ban is found in *Joseon wangjo sillok* (*Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*): “Extravagance is growing among the *sadaebu* [scholar-official class]. For example, a woman once spent hundreds of gold pieces on a gache. Such extravagance is driven by the desire to show off and competition to have a higher and larger gache than others.” King Yeongjo hence banned gache and ordered that women wear *jokduri* (coronet) instead. However, in 1763, realizing that decorating the *jokduri* with gems would be as costly as wear-



Gache, Wig made of false braids | Length: 12 cm, Width: 14 cm | Post liberation | National Folk Museum of Korea

ing gache, King Yeongjo revoked the order on *jokduri* and women went back to their previous hairstyles. Later, in the tenth month of 1788 (12th year of the reign of King Jeongjo, 22nd monarch of Joseon) Bibyeonsa (Border Defense Council)⁷² presented rules to tighten control over the use of gache, but as the practice was not easily changed the matter was frequently debated in government. Brides who could not afford gache were often forced to postpone their weddings and even after marriage they had to forego the post-wedding ceremony in which the newly-wed bride offered gifts to her parents-in-law, similar to today's *pyebaek*. As a result, gache were pointed out as the cause of extravagance and transgression of moral laws.

Cheongjanggwan jeonseo (*Collected Works of Yi Deokmu*) mentions that “Affluent families spend as much as 70,000 to 80,000 *nyang* [old Korean coinage unit] on their hairdos. They wind the braids round and round on one side so that the head slants then decorate their hair with a jade *binyeo* [ornamental hair pin] or *unghwangpan* [realgar], which makes the weight of the hair unbearable. However, household heads have



Miindo | Portrait of a Beauty by Yun Duseo | Late Joseon Dynasty | Haenam Yun clan head family

failed to stop women from this extravagant practice, so women continue to fret about having a smaller *gache* than others.” In his book, Yi Deokmu also gives an example to criticize the extravagance of *gache* and the side effects: “There was a daughter-in-law of a rich family. She was only 13 years old. She was wearing such tall and heavy *dari* that when her father-in-law entered the room and she sprang to her feet, her neck was broken under the unbearable weight. As this shows, extravagance can even kill a person.” Yi Ik, a Joseon civil official, also criticized the practice of wearing *gache*, saying, “This custom requires collecting somebody else’s hair, not knowing whether it came from a man or a woman, to make hair accessories for women and as such this practice must not be permitted.” Park Gyusu, also a Joseon civil official, pointed out the negative effects of *gache* in his book titled *Geogajapbok (Study on Men’s and Women’s Costume)*, saying that “Adorning oneself by damaging somebody else’s hair is tantamount to preventing those of poor and humble origins from preserving intact the bodies that they inherited from their parents. As for the rich and powerful, it means having others do what they would not do themselves. As the former failed to fulfil their duty to their parents and the latter failed to consider the pitiable circumstances of the poor, both have not behaved in an ethical way.”

71. An ornament worn by women in the royal court at the front of the parting in their hair. It was originally devised to fix coronets such as *jokduri* or *hwagwan* in place, but was actually worn at ordinary times. The *cheopji* was fixed to the head by braids attached on either side. The type of ornament worn differed according to rank.

72. A government office that dealt with state affairs during the mid- and late Joseon Dynasty.

Goidaenggi

고이댕기

Wedding hair ribbon

Hair ribbon worn at wedding ceremonies or 60th birthday parties in the northwestern region of Korea.

Goidaenggi were worn by women of the northwestern part of Korea (known as Gwanseo) as ceremonial hair ribbons on their wedding day or 60th birthday. In Pyongyang, particularly, not only the bride but also the bridesmaids wore this hair ribbon.

At traditional weddings held in Pyongyang, a bride would wear a red skirt and a green jacket with *nokwonsam* (green ceremonial robe) on top. Her hair was decorated with *chilbo* ornaments. This wedding costume was simplified to a red skirt and green jacket with hair adorned with *chilbo*, literally the seven treasures—gold, silver, lapis, crystal, coral, agate, and pearl. For the hairstyle, *Gache* (big braided wig) was placed on the bride’s head and a large braid called *nang-ja*⁷³ was coiled up to make a big chignon, and a large hair pin (*binyeo*) decorated with *chilbo* was stuck in it. A hair ribbon was wrapped around the hair pin and left to hang down one side. On the opposite side of the large *binyeo* a smaller one was inserted to balance the chignon and a hair ribbon was wrapped around it to hang down the back. A belt called *gakdae* was worn around the waist and a variety of *norigae* (pendants) were hung from it. This entire procedure of dressing for a wedding was called “dressing up with *chilbo* ornaments” (*chilbo danjang*). When a survey on goidaenggi was conducted among people who had taken part in or at-

tended a wedding in the Pyongyang area in the 1940s, most used the term *apdaenggi* (wedding hair ribbon wound around the binyeo) instead of *goidaenggi*.

Goidaenggi was a ceremonial hair ribbon particularly worn by women in the northwestern region of Korea, mainly as a substitute for *apdaenggi*. It measures 250 cm in length, which is longer than other hair ribbons, and is decorated with colorful and elaborate embroidery. The long ribbon is folded in half and each side facing the front is colorfully embroidered with different motifs. The right side is embroidered with three peonies and the left side with the ten symbols of longevity such as pine trees, bamboo, and deer. The rounded ends of the hair ribbon are embroidered with fancy diamond-shaped patterns and adorned with coral and pearl. The ribbon was generally made of black satin or purple, black or dark purple silk or gauze.

73. A large braid coiled up where the hair pin is inserted.



Goidaenggi | Length: 270 cm, Width: 10 cm | Korea University Museum

Gwanja

관자

Buttons for men's headband

Buttons attached to the left and right sides of the *manggeon*⁷⁴ (headband).

Gwanja (Kor. 관자 Chin. 貫子, lit. string button) were also called *gwanja* (Kor. 권자 Chin. 圈子 lit. round item), *hwanja* (Kor. 환자, Chin. 圈子, lit. jade item) or *chonghwan* (Kor. 총환, Chin. 總環, lit. jade string). Gwanja were a kind of men's hair accessory attached to the headband wrapped around the forehead after tying the hair into a topknot, which was worn by married men during the Joseon period. The *manggeon* was worn around the forehead and back of the head to keep the hair tidy when tied in a topknot, and consists of *dang*, the upper fastening band, and *pyeonja*, the lower fastening band. Gwanja are attached to the left and right of the lower band, near the ears, and function as buttons which the straps of the upper band are looped around. After the headband was tied around the head it was tied to the topknot. Gwanja were placed on the acupuncture point between the ears and the eyes, called the "greater yang point." When the pulse beats on those points, the buttons move. Hence this acupuncture point was called *gwanjanori*, literally meaning "the gwanja are moving."

Gwanja also functioned to distinguish the wearer's social status according to the materials and designs used. Buttons made of gold or jade were considered the most valuable. People of higher rank or social status tended to wear simple undecorated gwanja as a sign of moderation and humility. The shape of the gwanja con-



Gwanja | Diameter: 1.5-2.5 cm | 19th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Gwanja derived from gwanjanori (temples) | Detail from *Portrait of the Three Jo Brothers* | 19th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

tained the principles of yin and yang and the five elements (*eumyangohaeng*)⁷⁵ and the decorative designs on them represented the virtue of the scholar-officials of Joseon and their prayers for the prosperity of the ordinary people of an agricultural society. Therefore, gwanja reflected the hearts and minds of the scholar-officials of Joseon.

74. Men's headband wrapped around the forehead to prevent the hair from falling forward. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)
75. Theory dividing all things and phenomena in the world into yin and yang and the five elements (wood, fire, earth, metal and water).

Jebiburidaenggi

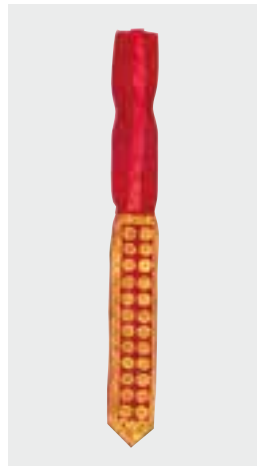
제비부리댕기

Ribbon with pointed swallowbill ends

Hair ribbon (*daenggi*) which is pointed at the end like a swallow's bill (*jebiburi*).

A long rectangular hair ribbon with ends folded over to make them pointed, the *jebiburidaenggi* is so named because the end is pointed like a swallow's bill. The slanted ends on the left and right are tucked inside, like the shape of a baby swallow opening its mouth to receive food from its mother. This ribbon was generally worn tied around a braid by unmarried men and women and while the size differed according to age, generally the female version was 120-130 cm long and 5-8 cm wide, and the male ribbon was slightly shorter and narrower.

The most common type of hair ribbon, the *jebiburidaenggi* often appears in folk songs as a token of love exchanged or a symbol of love and therefore is the hair ribbon with the most stories surrounding it. Among extant relics, one



Jebiburidaenggi, swallow-bill ribbon | Length: 53.3 cm, Width: 7 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea



Jebiburidaenggi, swallow-bill ribbon | Length: 107 cm | Modern era | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum

in the collection of the National Folk Museum is made of purple patterned satin and in the typical form of a swallow-bill ribbon ends in a triangular point. The lining was made with pieces of purple and pink scrap cloth. About half of the ribbon is decorated with gold leaf designs of butterflies and chrysanthemums and the *a* character (亞) and a string is attached to the top part. Another relic is the ribbon worn by Princess Deogon, preserved at the Seokjuseon Memorial Museum at Dankook University. This item was donated to the museum in 1959 by Yun Baekyeong, granddaughter of the princess. Crimson in color and made of silk gauze decorated with flowers and the character *su* (壽), meaning longevity, it was worn when Princess Deogon was invested as princess in 1828.

Tteoljam

떨잠

Ornamental hairpin worn on ceremonial occasions

A type of hairpin worn by women of the Joseon Dynasty.

During the Joseon Dynasty tteoljam were worn by the queen and women of the upper class on ceremonial occasions, when they wore their hair in the style called *keunmeori* or *eoyeomeori*. Its name means that it is a fluttering or shaking (*tteol*) hairpin. In structure the tteoljam consists of two parts: *jangsikbu* and *cheombu*. *Jangsikbu* is the flat gold, silver or jade disc richly decorated with enamelwork and gems arranged in the shape of a flower. *Cheombu* is the pin that narrows at the end attached to the decorative *jangsikbu* so that the tteoljam can be inserted in



Flower-shaped hairpin made of white jade worn by King Yeongchin's consort | Length: 11.3 cm, Diameter: 8.2 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Butterfly-shaped hairpin made of white jade worn by King Yeongchin's consort | Length: 9 cm, Diameter: 7.5 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea

the hair. In length tteoljam are generally about 10-18 cm long and 6-7 cm wide, while longer versions reach 22-24 cm.

Tteoljam were mostly worn by the queen, crown princess, and other royal women to decorate their hair when dressed for ceremonial occasions in formal robes such as the *jeogui*, *wonsam* or *hwarot*. The queen and crown princess wore their official ceremonial robe *jeogui* and did their hair up in the ceremonial *daesu* style, decorated with *tteoljam*. Other women of the court wore the *wonsam* or some other ceremonial robe and put their hair up in big wigs in the *eoyemeori* or *keunmeori* style, which was also decorated with tteoljam. Women of the ruling class wore tteoljam in their hair when visiting the palace or for weddings and other big events.

As it was the custom for upper class women to wear tteoljam on ceremonial occasions, it was an accessory that could not be used by commoners. Its use being thus limited to the upper classes, the tteoljam was a ceremonial hair ornament that signified the social position of the wearer during the Joseon Dynasty.



Eoyeomeori with tteoljam by Kwon Ochang

BODY ACCESSORIES

신체장식

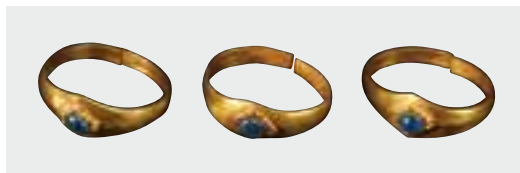
Banji

반지

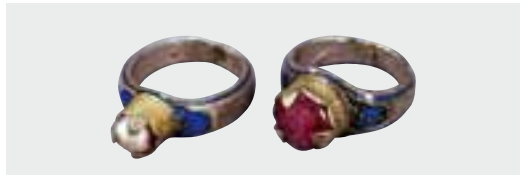
Ring

Ring ornament worn on the finger.

Banji (Kor. 반지, Chin. 半指, lit. half finger) is a generic term for rings, or ornaments worn on the fingers. They are also called *jihwan*. *Humongjahoe* (*Collection of Characters for Training Children*)⁷⁶ contains a reference to rings, saying *jihwan* are called *garakji* (a pair of rings) or *gyeji* (戒指, a commitment ring), which indicates the word *gyeji* was also used interchangeably with banji. By type *jihwan* can be categorized as banji, which refers to a single ring, and *garakji*, which refers to a pair of rings. The *Korean Dictionary* contains the following definition: “An ornamental ring made of gold, silver, beads, or jade worn on the finger. A pair of rings are called *garakji* while a single ring is called banji. Another name for finger rings is *jihwan*.” Banji refers to a single ring from a pair of rings. *Garakji* were given as a token of mutual trust from ancient times. Banji was worn regardless of the wearer’s marital status, whereas *garakji* were worn only by married women because they symbolized the concepts of *iseongjibap* (二姓之合, unity of two families as one) and *bubulsin* (夫



Gold rings | Diameter: 1.5 cm | Geumnyeongchong Tomb, in Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do | Silla | National Museum of Korea



Silver rings | Diameter: 2.1 cm | Joseon | National Museum of Korea



Pair of rings | Diameter: 3 cm, Width: 1 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

婦一身, husband and wife as one body).

Small, simple but conspicuous ornaments worn on the fingers, rings have served to indicate the wearer’s social status since ancient times. In addition, rings have been worn as a token of love and affection between man and woman and as a symbol of marriage. Although the smallest and simplest ornament, finger rings have been adapted to changing culture and styles through the ages, from ancient times through the Joseon period and to the present day. Rings dating back to the Three Kingdoms period provide a glimpse of cultural exchange among ancient Korean kingdoms and those from the Joseon period show that they were symbolic items to pray for happiness in this world, including longevity and the prosperity of one’s descendants.

76. Written by Choe Sejin in 1527.

Gwigori

귀고리
Earrings

Ornaments worn through pierced earlobes or clipped on the ear conch.

Earrings were worn by nomadic and horse-riding peoples who pierced their ears and wore earrings to prevent their activities from being interrupted. It has been also assumed that earrings were shamanic ornaments that carried religious meaning. In the early Joseon period,

while people wore earrings in pierced ears from an early age they regarded it as an undesirable custom of the barbarians. Under the influence of Confucianism, earrings that required the earlobes to be pierced were gradually replaced by eardrops hung on the ears. The pendants of the eardrops came down to the shoulders like hair ribbons (*daenggi*) when formal dress was worn and served as sumptuous accessories. In certain parts of the country, the custom of ear piercing was maintained. However, when Western culture entered Korea wearing earrings through pierced earlobes or clipped on the ears became widespread. Today, earrings are used by both sexes.



Earrings | ① Length: 6 cm | Neungdong, Gwangjin-gu, Seoul | Goguryeo | National Museum of Korea ② Length 8.3 cm | Royal Tomb of King Muryeong | Baekje | Gongju National Museum ③ Length: 8.7 cm, Diameter: 3.8 cm | Bubuchong Tomb | Silla | National Museum of Korea ④ Length: 7.6 cm | Okjeon Tomb No.24 | Gaya | Hapcheon Museum ⑤ Length: 5.8 cm | Around Gaeseong, Gyeonggi-do | Goryeo | National Museum of Korea ⑥ Baekje | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum ⑦ National Folk Museum of Korea



Silver bracelet with dragon design | Diameter: 8 cm | Tomb of King Muryeong, Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do | Baekje | Gongju National Museum



Gold interlocking bracelets | Diameter: 8 cm | Noseo-dong, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do | Silla | National Museum of Korea



Gold plate bracelet | Width: 2.1 cm, Diameter: 7.2 cm | North Mound of Hwangnamdaechong, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do | Silla | Gyeongju National Museum



Gilt-silver bracelet with repousse floral design | Diameter: 9 cm | Goryeo | National Museum of Korea

Paljji

팔찌
Bracelet

Generic name for all bracelets and other accessories worn on the arms.

Paljji, or bracelets, have been worn in Korea since the Neolithic Age. The anklet found on the bones of a male found in Yeon-daedo Shell Mound No. 7 consists of 124 dolphin, otter, and raccoon teeth strung together. Although it was worn on the ankle rather than the arm, it is the only example of this kind from the Neolithic Age. Aside, marble bracelets have been unearthed. Bronze Age bracelets made of bronze and jade, shellfish, and metal have been found, indicating that in Bronze Age society bracelets were made of diverse materials. During the Three Han States period, jade and bronze bracelets were worn.

During the Three Kingdoms period, bracelets appear to have been used in all three kingdoms—Goguryeo, Silla and Baekje. The Goguryeo tomb murals show people wearing bracelets on both arms, and bracelets made of gold, silver, bronze and jade were excavated from ancient Goguryeo tombs.

During the Three Kingdoms period it seems bracelets were worn by both men and women, and it can be inferred that various kinds of bracelets were worn on both arms at the same time. During the Goryeo Dynasty, bracelets were particularly popular compared to earrings and necklaces, considering the volume of relics found and the method of decoration used on them. However, it appears that bracelets were rarely worn during the Joseon Dynasty.

COSTUME ACCESSORIES

의복장식

Eosahwa

어사화 御賜花

Paper flowers bestowed by the king

Flowers awarded by the king to the person who came first in the state civil service exams during the Joseon Dynasty.

Hongpae (Kor. 홍패, Chin. 紅牌, lit. red certificate) and *eosahwa* (Kor. 어사화, Chin. 御賜花, lit. flowers granted by the king) were granted to the person who gained first place in the state examinations for both civil and military officials.

Two slender pieces of split bamboo were tied together at the bottom and spread out in the upper part, and blue, red, yellow and white paper flowers were glued onto them. One end of the pieces was inserted in the back of the *bokdu* hat. The other end was bound with silk strands and pulled over the head to the front, and held in the mouth or tied to *bol* (ritual tablet) to fix the *eosahwa* in place. The *eosahwa*, along with the red certificate of appointment, were bestowed by the king to the successful candidates in the state exams in both categories of civil and military office.



Eoseohwa, Paper flowers bestowed by the king | Length: 165 cm | Late 19th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Detail from *Hong Gyeohui pyeongsaengdo* (Scenes From the Life of Hong Gyeohui) by Kim Hongdo | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Museum of Korea

Gyu

규圭

Jade tablet held by royalty

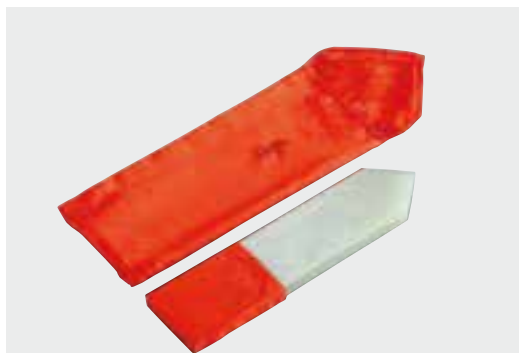
Jade tablet held by the king, the crown prince, the queen and the crown princess when they were formally dressed.

Gyu (Kor. 규, Chin. 圭, lit. jade tablet) is a stick of jade pointed at the top and squared at the bottom, which served as a symbol of appointment of feudal lords and signified communication with heaven. The gyu held by the king, the crown prince, the queen and the crown princess differed in material and shape according to rank. The king used a tablet made of blue jade, which was seemingly replaced by white jade in the 17th century. However, there are records stating that according to occasion the king used a blue jade tablet or jade tablet decorated with different designs. When the Ming Dynasty came to power in China, it was legislated that the handle of the gyu be wrapped with silk and the tablet be stored in a fabric pouch. Extant gyu artifacts include those used by King Yeongchin and his queen, which are preserved at the National Palace Museum of Korea, each contained in its own pouch and drawer.⁷⁷

Gyu held by kings and *hol*⁷⁸ (Kor. 홀, Chin. 笏, lit. tablet) held by civil and military government officials date back to ancient China when they were held while dressed in ceremonial costume and served as a sign of the wearer's social status and rank.

77. Here "drawer" seemingly refers to a box without a lid.

78. A scepter held by civil and military officials when having an audience with the king.



Jade tablet and pouch used by King Yeongchin
Length: 17.3 cm, Width: 4.2 cm



Jade tablet and pouch used by King Yeongchin
Length: 14.4 cm, Width: 6 cm

Gyu | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea

Hapi

하피 霞帔

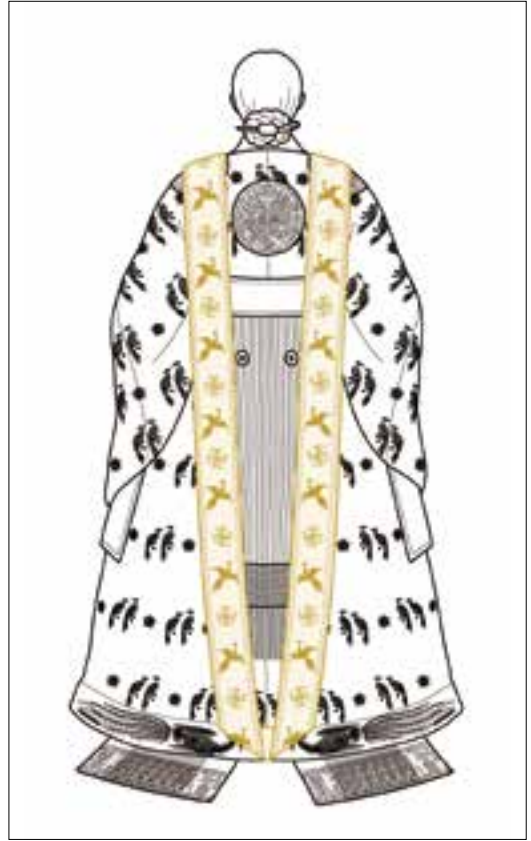
Ceremonial cape

Ceremonial cape worn by the queen, the crown princess and other royal women with the ceremonial robe *jeogui*.

For 550 years from late Goryeo to the wedding (*johyeonrye* ceremony) of King Yeongchin in 1922, the hapi (Kor. 하피, Chin. 霞帔, lit. red dusk cape) was worn as part of ceremonial attire. During the Joseon Dynasty the women



Hapi, ceremonial cape | Length: 49.5 cm, Width: 11 cm |
First half 20th century | Sejong University Museum



Picture of a woman wearing hapi, ceremonial cape |
National Palace Museum of Korea

of the royal court, including the queen, the consort of the crown prince, the consort of the crown prince's son, the queen dowager, and the grand queen dowager wore the hapi over their shoulders when dressed in the ceremonial *daesam*-style *jeogui*. The hapi was an ornamental garment in the form of a long, wide piece of black silk that was draped over the shoulders. It was one of the garments included in the set of ceremonial attire sent to the queen by the Ming Dynasty in the early Joseon period.

From the late Joseon Dynasty a Joseon-style set of ceremonial attire based on a *daesam*-type *jeogui* (that is, red silk with no embroidery) was assembled and the hapi was included in it.

During the Korean Empire a deep blue imperial *jeogui*, of a kind not found among Ming Dynasty relics, was made and hapi was worn with it.

Hol

홀 笏

Jade tablet (held by officials)

Ritual tablet held in the hands by civil and military officials when having an audience with the king.

The ritual tablet held by the king was called *gyu* (Kor. 규, Chin. 圭, lit. jade tablet). It was made of jade and pointed at the top and square at the bottom, symbolizing the east. The emperor's ritual tablet was called *jingyu* (Kor. 진규, Chin. 鎮圭) and symbolized stabilizing the four directions.

Originally the *hol* (Kor. 홀, Chin. 笏, lit. tablet) was used to write down any commands that the king gave. The highest officials held a tablet made of ivory. *Hol* were made of ivory, wood and jade and diverse other materials according to rank, position, and social status. “Yuazo” (dresses and caps worn by rulers) in the *Book of Rites* (Kor. 예기, Chin. 禮記) says the son of heaven held a tablet made of jade, the emperor one made of ivory, grandees one made of bamboo with fishbone design, scholars one made of bamboo, but in later years the tablets were also made of animal bones or horns, and jade.

The length of the tablet was fixed at 2 *ja* and 6 *chi*. The *hol* was used by officials to write down what they wanted to say to the king or to write down commands made by the king. Hence it was like a notebook and also a symbol of rank.

The robes worn by officials were classified as *jobok*, *jebok*, *gongbok* and *sangbok*, but the *hol* was held with all robes, except *sangbok*. As *sangbok* was the robe worn when looking after everyday work, the *hol* as a ritual item was not held.

Husu

후수 後綬

Decorative back panel worn with ceremonial attire

Ornamental back panel worn with ceremonial attire.

When the use of seals became common during the Qin and Han dynasties of China the *husu* (Kor. 후수, Chin. 後綬, lit. back seal cord) was worn as a way to constantly carry the seal on the body. However, during the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern dynasties people gradually stopped carrying seals but continued to wear the *husu*. Though originally worn for a practical purpose it became fixed as a part of ceremonial attire under the belief that “the ways of the ancestors should not be forgotten.” *Husu* were introduced to Korea when Chinese costume was adopted by the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties. Initially, they were imported from China but from the reign of King Yeongjo they were made locally in an effort to curb extravagance and this led to the creation of uniquely Korean-style *husu*. These Koreanized *husu* continued to be worn until the Korean Empire.



Hol | Length: 84 cm |
20th century | National
Folk Museum of Korea

**Painting of King Gongmin and Princess
Noguk** | Joseon | Gyeonggi Provincial
Museum



Husu, ornamental back panel | Length: 78 cm, Straps: 47 cm |
Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea

Hyungbae

흉배 胸背
Rank badge

Round or square patch attached to official uniforms during the Joseon Dynasty to signify official position and rank.

From the 15th century, the *hyungbae* (Kor. 흉배, Chin. 胸背, lit. chest and back) was worn by all royalty, including princesses and their consorts, royal relatives and their wives, and government officials and their wives as a symbol of social status and their position in the court. It was also worn on the uniform of court artisans and on wedding attire but in these cases it was not so much a symbol of social status but an ornament. Royalty, from the wife of the crown prince and above, wore four round patches, one each on the chest, the back and the shoulders.

While use of the rank badge system had been discussed from the reign of King Sejong, it was not introduced until 1454 (second year of the reign of King Danjong), when officials of the senior third rank and above began to wear a *hyungbae* on their official *dallyeong* robe. From the reign of King Sejo *hyungbae* were only worn on the black robe *heukdallyeong*. While members of the royalty wore round badges, officials wore square ones. The rank system applied was based on that of the Ming Dynasty of China but Korean officials were ranked two grades lower than their Ming counterparts. The rank system for official uniform of the succeeding Qing Dynasty was not followed in Korea.

Among members of the royal family, princes (*daegun*) wore a *kylin* rank badge. The *kylin* is an animal covered in fur of five different colors



Pattern for *hyungbae* (rank badge) | Length: 19.5 cm, Breadth: 19.5 cm, Thickness: 2 cm | Late 19th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Pattern for rank badge with five-clawed dragon | 1896 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Emroidery pattern for mythical *baektaek* rank badge | Length: 18.8 cm, Breadth: 20.6 cm | Joseon | National Palace Museum of Korea



***Daesamwon* design found in the state records for the wedding of King Injo** | 1638 | National Museum of Korea



***Danhakhyungbae*, Crane *hyungbae* (rank badge)** | Length: 20 cm, Breadth: 21 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



***Danhohyungbae*, Tiger *hyungbae* (rank badge)** | Length: 20 cm, Breadth: 21.5 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea

with one or two long horns on the forehead. It is an imaginary animal with the body of a deer and the tail and mane of an ox. In form it is similar to the mythical bovine *baektaek*, the main difference being the hooves, which are those of a horse. From 1882, the regent Heungseon Daewongun wore a tortoise rank badge. In the late Joseon Dynasty, all *uibin*, the husbands



Gongjakhyungbae, Peacock rank badge | 1740 | Chunghyeon Museum



Sajahyungbae, Lion rank badge | 18th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum

of princesses, wore a rank badge featuring two cranes embroidered in gold thread.

During the Joseon Dynasty the main motif on the rank badges of civil officials was a bird, or winged animal, the rank indicated by the size of the bird. The main motif on the rank badge of military officials was a four-footed animal.

Overall, hyungbae grew smaller in size over time. Up until the 17th century it was around 30-40 cm square but gradually decreased and by the early 20th century it was less than 20 cm square. Women's rank badges were smaller than the men's version. There are three kinds of hyungbae in terms of method of expression and relics indicate that they changed according to period. In the early days, the hyungbae was woven directly into the fabric with which the garment was made. From the 16th century up to the 17th century, the badge woven onto fabric was cut out and attached to the robe, and from the 17th century the rank badge was embroidered.

Jangdo

장도 粧刀

Ornamental dagger

A small dagger with a sheath that was carried on the body.

Jangdo (Kor. 장도, Chin. 粧刀, lit. short knife) is a small dagger for self-defense and decorative purposes that was worn with everyday clothes. The sheath was decorated with a variety of metals, gold, silver, and gemstones. Daggers carried at the waist or coat strings were called *paedo*, while those carried by tying them to the strings of



Jangdo | Onyang Folk Museum

pouches or in pockets were called *nangdo*. Men wore the dagger on their coat strings or at the waist, while women carried them in pockets or the outer collar of the jacket along with *norigae*.

Choe Namseon, a cultural activist of the early 20th century, explained that wearing the jangdo originated in Mongolia and was transmitted to the Goryeo Dynasty from the Yuan Dynasty. However, relics from ancient tombs of the Three Kingdoms period show that Koreans had been wearing small daggers for centuries before Goryeo. An ornamental dagger carried in *yopae*, which was hung from the belt, was discovered in a Silla tomb and Baekje jangdo made of gold and silver were found in the Han River basin and the royal tomb of King Muryeong. Some records say that small knives resembling



Miindo (Painting of a Beauty) | 19th Century | Seokdang Museum of Dong-a University

jangdo with a brush hanging from it were carried by the people of Goryeo and that ordinary people were banned from carrying daggers, suggesting that the practice of carrying knives similar to jangdo had already existed. Later, in the Joseon Dynasty, various types of jangdo were made, growing smaller in size with greater emphasis placed on ornamentation and their symbolic meanings.

As jangdo became popular among people from all walks of life in Joseon, *dojajeon* flourished as places selling not only jangdo but women's accessories as well. As jangdo became extremely fancy and an object of luxury, several times the common people were banned from carrying silver jangdo. The artisans who made jangdo belonged to the Bureau of Royal Attire (Sanguiwon, a government office responsible for managing the king's attire, daily necessities, and valuable accessories). Jangdo were recognized for their rare and precious value and Joseon missions carried jangdo as gifts to the Ming Dynasty. Later, after the Japanese invasions (1592-98) and the Manchu invasion (1636) of Joseon, the jangdo became a symbol of women's chastity. In ruling class families of Joseon jangdo were given to girls aged 12 to 13, who were taught fidelity and honor, and they were passed down from mother to daughter. Even *gisaeng* (female entertainers) had to carry jangdo.

Jangdo were composed of the blade, sheath, and handle, and the perfect dagger was only complete when the ornamentation on each part harmonized with the whole. The jangdo differs in name according to usage, shape, material, and decorative designs. Among the different types of jangdo, *cheomjado* has a set of chopsticks hanging from the sheath for use when eating outside the home. As they were made of silver,

they were also used to determine whether the food contained poison. Jangdo with intricate decorative designs on the sheath and the handle were called *gajeunjangsik*, and those with simple designs were called *matbaegi*. The *matbaegi* daggers were further subdivided into *pyeong-matbaegi*, which refers to jangdo with sheath and handle forming a linear shape (—), and *euljamatbaegi*, whose sheath and handle form the 乙 shape. Jangdo of a rectangular shape were called *samojangdo*, and those in octagonal shape were called *mojaebijangdo*. The sheath and the handle were mostly made of metal including gold, silver, nickel, and copper, or wood such as ebony, persimmon, jujube, juniper, bamboo, and Chinese juniper. Gemstones such as jade, amber, agate, and malachite, and animal materials including tortoiseshell, ox bones, and fish skins were regarded as rare and precious, so they were often used to make ornamental jangdo for the upper classes. The list of accessories used for *gwallye* (coming-of-age ceremony) and *garye* (wedding ceremony) of King Sunjong includes jangdo made of amber, coral, jade, and red agate. As seen in the pendant (*norigae*) with jangdo attached worn by King Yeongchin's consort, in some cases different materials were used for the sheath and the handle.

Jangdo were a representative ornament widely favored by men and women and a personal effect carried in daily life during the Joseon period. The jangdo of Joseon reflect the social consciousness and aesthetics of their time. It was not just a simple symbol but a means to directly represent women's chastity. It was mostly decorated with designs that stand for wealth, longevity, happiness, fidelity, and integrity. Different types and shapes of jangdo crafted by artisans were viewed as rare and precious handcrafts and were used to effect in diplomacy.

Jumeoni

주머니

Pouch

Small pouch worn on the body to carry money and various personal items.

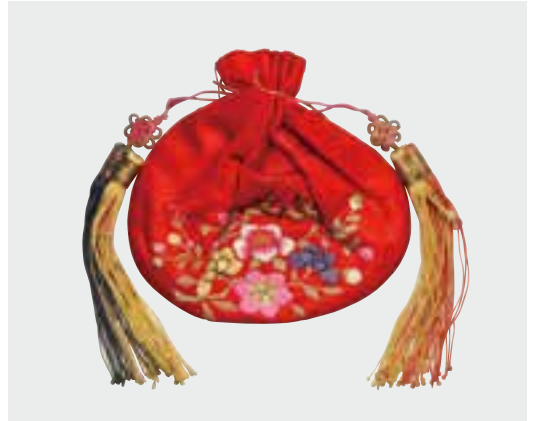
Jumeoni used during the Joseon Dynasty were varied in kind according to needs and function and were carried by men and women, young and old, regardless of social status. They went by different names depending on shape, usage, designs, and the rank of the user. Jumeoni were made in two basic forms: rounded pouches called *durujumeoni*, *yeomnang*, or *hwanbyeong-nang* (Kor. 환형낭, Chin. 丸形囊, lit. pill-shaped sack); and angular jumeoni called *gwijumeoni*, *jumchi* or *gakbyeongnang* (Kor. 각형낭, Chin. 角形囊, lit. angle-shaped sack).

The *durujumeoni* was the most widely used kind of pouch and had a shape close to a semi-circle. Those with a drawstring at the top were called *gonyu* (lit. high string), those with the string in the middle were called *jungnyu* (lit. middle string), and those with a string at the bottom were called *jeonyu* (lit. low string). *Gw-ijumeoni* were rectangular in shape with the top folded inwards twice to make the bottom part stick out at either side in triangular shape.

Other types of jumeoni are straight-line *jikseonjumeoni* or slanted-line *saseonjumeoni*. The former is a rectangular shape to fit items that are commonly used in daily life, such as cases for spoon and chopsticks, fans, and ink and brush. The latter are made by folding a rectangular piece of cloth along diagonal lines, sewing the seams where they meet, gathering pleats in the middle and inserting the string, allowing



Gwijumeoni, pouch with embroidered ideograph design | Length: 14.1 cm, Width: 14 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Durujumeoni, pouch | Length: 10.5 cm, Width: 10.5 cm | National Folk Museum of Korea



Medicine pouch with embroidered design of the ten symbols of longevity | Length: 14.1 cm, Width: 14 cm | National Palace Museum of Korea

the remainder to fold over the top to form a sort of lid. This type of pouch was used to hold medicine.

The pouches are given different names according to function. Incense pouches are called *hyangjumeoni*, those for medicine *yakjumeoni*, those holding flints *busijumeoni* and tobacco *ssamji*, those used to hold troop dispatch tokens *balbyeongbu jumeoni*, and those holding seals *dojang jumeoni*. Watch cases were called *sigyejumeoni*, cases for glasses *angyeongjumeoni*, brush cases were called *pilnang*, and emergency acupuncture needles cases were called *chimnang*. Besides there were *sujeojumeoni* that young women made to hold spoons and chopsticks as marriage articles, *beoseonjumeoni* to hold patterns for socks, *buchaejumeoni* for the scholar's fan as well as other varied jumeoni for personal ornamental daggers, pendants and money.

Jumeoni were decorated with gold leaf or embroidery designs, mostly of animals or plants. Other popular designs were natural features, motifs or characters symbolizing good fortune, the ten symbols of longevity, peonies representing wealth and rank, and geometric designs. Nature designs used include landscapes featuring the three peaks, waves and the mushroom of immortality, which is used at the bottom of officials' rank badges called *hyungbae*. Common Chinese-character designs are *danam* (多男), meaning many sons, and *danam dabok* (多男多福), meaning many sons and great fortune. A pair of ducks was often embroidered with characters meaning longevity. Jumeoni used by the elderly were often decorated with the characters *subok* (壽福), meaning long life and good fortune. The *oboksunang* was a pouch embroidered with characters representing five kinds of fortune, while cutlery cases were often decorated with a swastika character (卍) at the bottom

center with embroidered waves, rocks, three mountain peaks and mushrooms of immortality on either side. The characters *su-bok-gang-nyeong* (壽福康寧) represent wishes for longevity, good fortune, peace and comfort. According to social status the colors and designs used differed and gold leaf designs were either present or not. Jumeoni that reflect the authority of the ruling class include *hwangnyongjanang* decorated with dragons, which was used by the king, as well as jumeoni decorated with phoenixes or gold leaf designs.

Traditional Korean attire, unlike Western attire, had no pockets so a separate pocket or pouch had to be carried around. Therefore, jumeoni were used by everyone, male and female, young and old and were used in diverse ways. They were often decorated with embroidery or gold leaf designs and used as ornaments. The designs on the pouches expressed wishes for longevity, good fortune, wealth, honor, and many descendants. So apart from their practical and decorative function, jumeoni also had a magical aspect. Also, there was a New Year's custom where beans were roasted and one bean placed inside a pouch to give to relatives. If the pouch was worn on the "swine day" it was believed to bring good fortune.

Norigae

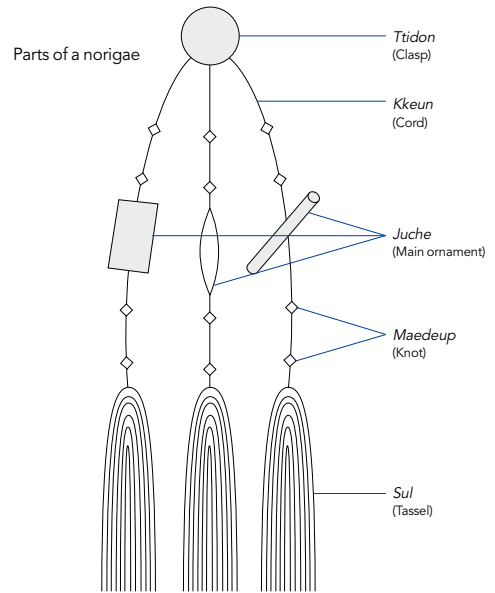
노리개

Knotted pendant with tassels

Women's pendant worn on the chest ties of the jacket (*jeogori*) or at the waist of the skirt.

Norigae, knotted pendants with tassels, were

Daesamjak norigae
Total Length: 41 cm
Joseon



Goebul norigae
Length: 13.5 cm
Early 20th century



Norigae with
tiger claw ornament
Length: 15 cm
Early 20th century



the most diverse women's ornaments of Joseon. As substitutes for necklaces or earrings they were widely worn by women of all ages and social status, from royal and upper-class women to ordinary women. Generally, *yopae* of the Silla Kingdom, which refers to diverse ornaments worn around the waist, is considered the origin of *norigae*.

Through their decorations and rhythmical movements, *norigae* added a touch of splendor to the clothing of Joseon, which placed great emphasis on modesty and moderation overall. They were made with valuable materials such as gold, silver, jade, and jewels that harmonized with the decorative knots and tassels to create works of delicate beauty. Women dressed up their outfits with different types of *norigae* according to season and the type and color of their clothing. In this sense, *norigae* fulfilled both practical and decorative purposes. They were not just ornaments but the symbol of an era that reflected women's dedication, aspirations, and way of life.

Paeok

패옥 佩玉

Jade string pendant

Ornament consisting of strings of jade pieces of varied shapes hung on the left and right sides of a girdle.

Paeok (Kor. 패옥, Chin. 佩玉) literally means jade (*ok*) that is worn (*pae*). While the word *pae* (佩) is generally used to mean "to wear," here it is used to mean "to increase." This is a reference to the way not one but many pieces of jade of

different shapes are strung together.

In ancient times, all noble men (*gunja*), from the son of heaven to ordinary scholars, had to wear jade at all times, except when conducting funeral rites. This is because jade was considered a symbol of goodness. Ancient people believed that goodness was the highest virtue of a superior man and therefore the paeok was seen as the centerpiece of one's attire. Originally a jade ornament was worn at the left side of the girdle around the waist and an ornament of daily items made of wood on the right side. As the jade ornament on the left was considered a symbol of goodness it was called *deokpae* (Kor. 덕패, Chin. 德佩), *deok* meaning "goodness." Daily items were considered to be tools necessary for work, so the ornament on the right was called *sapae* (Kor. 사패, Chin. 事佩), *sa* meaning "work." In later times, the wooden ornament was dispensed with when wearing ceremonial attire and instead jade ornaments, or paeok, were hung from both the left side and right side.

Paeok worn with ceremonial attire consist of jades called *hyeong* (衡), *geo* (珪), *u* (瑀), *hwang* (璜), and *chungga* (冲牙, 衝牙). *Hyeong* is long horizontally and is placed at the top. Just below is one *u* with a *geo* piece to either side. At the bottom is one *hwang* in the center with a *chungga* piece to either side. These jade pieces are connected in the middle by small pearls. When a person walks wearing paeok the *hwang* and *chungga* pieces hit against each other making a sound described as *jaeng jaeng* (鏗鏘), or the tinkling sound of bells. When the noble man heard this sound he was reminded of the need to cultivate virtue.

During the Goryeo, Joseon and Korean Empire periods, the king wore paeok with ceremonial robes such as *myeonbok*, *tongcheongwanbok*, and *wonyugwanbok*; officials wore it with

uniforms such as *jobok* and *jebok*, and the queen consort wore it with ceremonial robes such as *jeogui*.

During the Joseon Dynasty paeok consisted of the original jade pieces *hyeong*, *geo*, *u*, *hwang*, and *chungga*. Under the influence of the Ming Dynasty of China, *okhwa* (玉花) and *okjeok* (玉滴) were also added. *Okhwa* is a big jade piece in the shape of a sepal, the part that supports a flower in bud, and is placed under the *u*. *Okjeok* is a small jade piece shaped like a bell. Two of these pieces are placed between the *hwang* and *chungga*. A gold hook is placed above the *hyeong* so the paeok can be hung on a girdle (or belt). Originally the paeok was made to be hung on a belt called *hyeokdae*. However, during the first late Joseon Dynasty the *hyeokdae* was not worn with ceremonial attire so it was hung from a girdle called *daedae*. The paeok was worn with leather belts called *hyeokdae* from the late Joseon Dynasty.

For funeral rites, during the Joseon period instead of real jade the shapes were drawn on silk and placed on the left and right sides of the corpse. There were exceptions, however. Photos have confirmed that real jade paeok were among the burial goods placed in the tomb of King Sunjong.

Regarding the type of jade used, *Gukjo or-yeyi* (Kor. 국조오례의, Chin. 國朝五禮儀, Eng. Five Rites of State) stipulates that the king and officials use jade and jade-like stone for the major pieces, which were connected with jade beads. Meanwhile *Gyeongguk daejeon* (Kor. 경국대전, Chin. 經國大典, Eng. Grand Code of State Administration) says that officials of third rank and above wear imitation jade (*beoncheongok*) and officials of fourth rank and below wear white imitation jade (*beonbaegok*). At times paeok were placed against a cloth backing or



Paeok, jade ornament worn by the consort of King Yeongchin | Length: 77 cm, Width: 9 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea

Paeok, jade ornament | National Palace Museum of Korea

carried in a pouch to stop them from getting tangled. The backing or pouch was called *sosu* (Kor. 소수, Chin. 小綬, lit. small cord), and the pouch was called *paedae* (Kor. 패대, Chin. 佩袋, lit. belt pouch).

Over the long history of the paeok, its component pieces changed according to period but its symbolism remained unchanged.

Pyeseul

폐슬 蔽膝
Knee apron

Covering worn over the knees.

The pyeseul (Kor. 폐슬, Chin. 蔽膝, lit. knee cover) originated in the cloth that ancient people used to hide their genitalia. This evolved into



Pyeseul, knee apron worn by the consort of King Yeongchin | Length: 54 cm, Width: 35 cm | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea

Pyeseul, knee apron | National Palace Museum of Korea

a trapezoid-shaped ornamental apron for ceremonial attire. It was worn at the waist at the front and covered the knees when they had to be bended for any part of a ceremony or ritual. Hence the name pyeseul, which means “knee covering.”

The men's pyeseul is made in the same colors as the upper and lower garments while the women's is made in the colors of the outer robe. During the Joseon Dynasty, however, exceptions to the rule were often made in the case of women's pyeseul.

The pyeseul can be called the oldest piece of clothing in the history of humanity. As to why this garment worn by ancient people was not discarded but later preserved as an ornamental garment, a Han Dynasty Confucian scholar said it came from the idea of “considering the ways of the past to be important and not forgetting about our roots.” The pyeseul as part of ceremonial attire is the result of respect for the country's time-honored cultural traditions.

Sangjang

상장 喪杖
Mourning cane

Cane used while in mourning.

The reason why the chief mourner must use a cane is written down in the *Book of Rites* (*Liji*, 禮記): “When a filial son loses his parent(s) he weeps countless times and as he spends three years in mourning in a state of grief and worry, his body becomes emaciated and ill and thus uses a cane to support his weakened body. When his father is alive, he dare not use a cane before an elder. He does not use a cane in the *daecheong* to avoid the room used by an elder, and does not use hurried steps there either. This is the mind of the filial son, the fruit of human feeling; it is not the model of etiquette or something mandated by heaven or earth. It is simply natural human feeling.” In other words, the chief mourner uses a cane as a symbol of filial piety, to support his weakened body while spending the three-year mourning period in a hut, eating only rice porridge, sleeping on a straw mat, and laying his head on the ground, which makes his body weak; and to reveal his status as the chief mourner.



Mourners carrying mourning canes | Head House of Hakbong in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do | 2008 | National Folk Museum of Korea



① Saseon



② Nosangpaan by Kim Hongdo



③ Sillangjeonan

Saseon | ① Length: 42 cm, Width: 46 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea ② Late Joseon Dynasty | National Museum of Korea ③ Genre painting by Gisan | Korean Christian Museum at Soongsil University

Saseon

사선 紗扇

Silk fan-type mask

Folding fan used to cover the face.

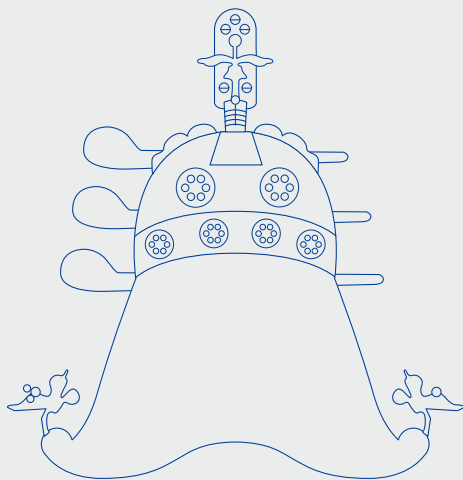
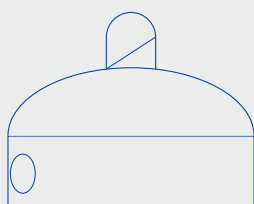
Saseon (사선, Chin. 紗扇, lit. silk fan) were used by men of the upper class of the Joseon Dynasty to cover the face when walking down the street or riding a horse. When riding a horse to his own wedding ceremony, the groom also used this folding fan to cover his face. The saseon was made of silk, square in shape and larger than an ordinary folding fan, about the size of a handkerchief. Since shafts were inserted into both sides of thin, blue silk cloth, the fan could be rolled up like a scroll and carried in the hand. When unfolded it turned into a face covering. The face could not be seen from the outside, but it was possible to look out from the inside. The saseon is categorized as a kind of special folding fan named *byeolseon*, which refers to a folding fan made of uncommon materials, with an unusual shape and special function. Folding fans are generally divided into three types: *banggu-buchae*, *jeopseon*, and *byeolseon*. *Byeolseon* are then

divided into *chamyeonseon*, *honseon*, *pachoseon*, *yunseon*, *paldeokseon*, *museon*, and *deurimbuchae*. The *chamyeonseon* come in two colors, blue and red, and were used to cover the face. The blue *chamyeonseon* is also called saseon. The red *chamyeonseon* is shaped like the saseon but is made with red silk. It was awarded by the king to the person coming first in the state examinations, *gwageo*, along with flowers called *eosabrwa*.

The *moseon*, *poseon*, and saseon carried by upper-class men were adapted to make the *poseon* used at wedding ceremonies. The *poseon* is fan that was made to block sunlight or glare, shield against wind in winter, avoid a person one does not want to see, and cover a mourner's face.

Hairstyles

머리모양



Cheopjimeori

참지머리

Court women's hairstyle

Hairstyle decorated with *cheopji* worn by the queen and all women of rank living inside and outside the palace (*naeoemyeongbu*) during the Joseon Dynasty.



Gilt-bronze phoenix *cheopji* (hair ornament) | Length: 5 cm | Joseon | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum



Cheopjimeori hairstyle worn by an upper class woman

Cheopjimeori was a hairstyle worn by the queen and women of rank living inside the palace and outside the palace when dressed in ceremonial attire. The custom of wearing *cheopji* began with the government ban on large braided hair pieces called *dari* during the reigns of King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo in the late Joseon Dynasty. Chignons and coronets such as *jokduri* and *hwagwan* were encouraged instead of the big wig called *gache*. The coronets were fixed in place with the *cheopji* hair ornament.

At court, women wore *cheopji* on most days, primarily to mark their rank but also to prepare themselves for the time when they had to wear a *jokduri* or *hwagwan* coronet in accordance with court rules. The hair was parted in the middle of the head, braided under the ears, and the braided hair divided into three braids, two of which were tied together. The remaining braid was neatly combed and covered as if it covered the *cheopji*. It looked better when the front hair came down slightly to the forehead.

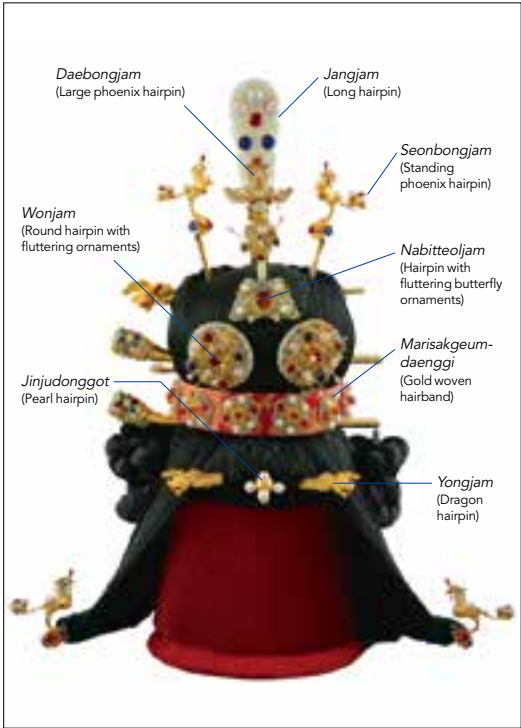
Daesu

대수 大首

Queen's ceremonial hairstyle

Hairstyle worn by queens of the Joseon Dynasty on ceremonial occasions.

Made in the form of a wig worn over the whole head, the *daesu* rises high at the top and widens to both sides at the bottom to form a triangular shape. It comes down to the shoulders and is stretched taut to either side with a phoenix *binyeo* (hairpin) fixed in either end. At the back, the hair is rolled up and fixed with another



Parts of daesu | National Palace Museum of Korea



King Yeongchin's consort, wearing daesu (ceremonial hairstyle) and jeogui (ceremonial robe) | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea

binyeo. To make the top high, false braids are coiled up underneath. At the bottom level of the braids a red ribbon with jade disc ornaments is tied around the wig in such a way that eight strands are formed at the back. The middle of the chignon would have been fixed with a pearl *donggot* hairpin and dragon *binyeo* and the wig fixed with various pins such as butterfly *tteoljam* (fluttering hairpin) and round *tteoljam*. The center of the wig at the very top was decorated with a long jade *binyeo*. A lot of hair had to be collected to make a daesu wig. *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty (Joseon wangjo sillok)* says that the regions that supplied hair were Hamgyeong-do Province and Jeju-do, with the amount to be provided by each region designated by the state. The amount of hair used in royal weddings was five bunches consisting of 68 strands each for the wedding of King Injo and Queen Jangnyeol in 1638, and five bunches consisting of 48 strands each for the wedding of King Sukjong and Queen Inhyeon in 1681, but the number gradually declined to 10 strands per bunch during the reign of King Yeongjo.

During the Joseon period, the finest hairstyle for ceremonial dress was called *susik*, whether in the context of a wedding or not. In 17th century state records (*uigwe*) this term was used to mean both daesu and *geodumi* hairstyles, but from the 18th century it was used specially in reference to daesu. The name daesu was revived in 1922 based on the relics of King Yeongchin's consort.

Eonjeunmeori

엷은머리

Hairstyle for married women

Women's hairstyle in which the hair is pulled up from the back and fixed in front.

This hairstyle can be seen on the figure of a woman carrying a table in the mural of Muyongchong (Tomb of the Dancers) from the ancient Goguryeo Kingdom. It continued to be popular through the ages. During the Joseon Dynasty there were two types of eonjeunmeori: one style was made by adding *gache* (false braids) to one's own hair for decorative purposes; the other was made by using one's own hair only. Eonjeunmeori was called several different names: *daesu*,⁷⁹ *keunmeori*, *eoyeomeori*, *teuremeori*,⁸⁰ *chemeori*, *pulmeori*, and *dullemeori*.⁸¹ *Gache* were an essential element of women's hairstyles.

Eonjeunmeori is a distinct Korean hairstyle that was passed down from ancient times. The Joseon government imposed a variety of bans on the use of false braids to make eonjeunmeori bigger but to no avail. This hairstyle finally disappeared during the reign of King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834).



Woman wearing *hwangye*, an ancient hairstyle for royal women | Anak Tomb No. 3 | Goguryeo



Eoyeomori | Detail from *Hoehollyedo* (Sixtieth Birthday Banquet) | Joseon | National Museum of Korea



Dano punggyeong (Dano Day Scene) by Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | Kansong Art and Culture Foundation



Jeojatgeori (Downtown) by Shin Yunbok | Late Joseon Dynasty | National Museum of Korea

Jjokmeori

쪽머리

Chignon

Chignon worn by married women, made by parting the hair from the front in the middle, gathering it and tying it at the back and twisting it into a round bun.

During the Joseon Dynasty, when girls turned 15 they had their coming-of-age ceremony called *gyerye* (Kor. 계례, Chin. 笄禮, lit. hairpin rite) and put their hair up in a chignon fixed with a hairpin for the first time. Girls under the age of 15 who were to get married held the

79. Hairstyle worn by the queen when dressed in a ceremonial robe. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*)

80. Hairstyle in which the hair is pulled up and tied into the shape of "—" ("*Gaksital*" [bride mask] of Hahoetal, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

81. The hair from the back is braided and coiled around the head once in front, and then the rest of the hair is tied up into a bun. This hairstyle was popular among women during the enlightenment period in Korea and is similar to *eonjeunmeori*. (*Dictionary of Korean Costume Culture*)



Jjokmeori | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea

gyerye rite and put their hair up the night before the wedding. While the jjokmeori hairstyle was originally first worn with coming-of-age, gradually it came to be worn upon marriage and became the symbol of a married woman. Following the ban on big wigs called *gache*, the chignon became the major hairstyle of ordinary women along with *eonjeunmeori*, made by braiding one's own hair into two strands and bringing them together at the top of the head in front.

In the palace and the homes of the nobility women wore a big chignon and fixed it with a luxurious *binyeo* or other hairpins. But the low-born simply braided their own hair and fixed it with a white copper hairpin. The jjokmeori hairstyle was made by parting the hair from the middle at the front, brushing it back to both sides, tying it at the back, plaiting it into one

long braid, and tying it with a ribbon called *jjokdaenggi*. Young married women wore a reddish-purple ribbon, elderly women a blackish-purple ribbon, widows a black ribbon and those in mourning a white ribbon. At normal times the chignon was decorated with *binyeo* and *dwikkoji* hairpins, and for ceremonial occasions a coronet (*hwagwan* or *jokduri*) was worn. Originally the chignon was worn at the back of the head but gradually it was moved further down and by the late Joseon Dynasty it sat at the nape of the neck, just above the back of the collar. In the enlightenment period it was moved back up to the back of the head, as it is generally worn today. The position of the chignon was thus moved up or down along the neckline according to the fashion of each period.

The jjokmeori hairstyle for married women was an alternative that was introduced in an attempt to address the extravagant spending on *gache*, big fancy wigs made of braided hair. Against King Yeongjo's intentions, however, the chignon was worn with coronets decorated with jewels and hence did not help to reduce spending. Accordingly, women were again allowed to wear other hairstyles but only those made with their own hair, such as *eonjeunmeori*. This means *gache* was still banned. But these measures were also ineffective. Jjokmeori became widespread around the nation from the mid-period of the reign of King Sunjo, that is, from the early 19th century. This is when *silhak*, or practical learning, had begun to change the people's thinking so that they sought greater rationality and practicality in daily life. Also, when the hair was worn in a chignon the white collar band (*dong-jeong*) of the jacket was revealed, creating a neat and clean image, and thus the hairstyle continues to this day.



Jjokmeori (Chignon) | Portrait of Chae Yeonhong by Chae Yongsin | 1914 | National Museum of Korea

Saeangmeori

새앙머리

Formal hairstyle for unmarried women

Hairstyle worn by unmarried women.

Saeangmeori was the hairstyle worn by unmarried women of upper class families when they were received by the king at the palace and by junior court ladies working at the palace. The name *saenggaksi* for junior court ladies who had not yet come of age originated in this hairstyle.



Saeangmeori, hairstyle worn by unmarried upper-class women | 1850 | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum



Nainbok, court lady's attire By Kwon Ochang

However, not all junior court ladies wore the saeangmeori hairstyle, only those belonging to the queen's bedchamber, the sewing division, or the embroidery division. Those belonging to other divisions wore their hair in one long braid at the back, like girls of commoner homes. They wore a hair ribbon of light crimson color made of patterned silk in winter and of loosely-woven silk (*gapsa*) in summer.

Generally, the saeangmeori hairstyle is made by attaching two braids (*dari*) to one's own hair then folding the braids up and tying a ribbon around the middle, low down at the back of the head. When girls from noble families went to make their greetings at the palace at New Year or on the winter solstice they wore their hair in the saeangmeori style with a realgar ornament in their ribbon or ornamental hairpins such as *tteoljam* or *dwikkoji* in their hair.

Sangtu

상투

Topknot

A topknot, the representative hairstyle worn by men after marriage or coming-of-age.

When men got married they undid their long braided hair, brushed it up and tied it in a topknot. As the shape was like a scale weight (*chu*) it was also called *chugye*.

In traditional Korean society strict distinctions were made between married and unmarried people. Even if a boy married very young, he put his hair up in a topknot and was treated like an adult. For this reason, some men wore a topknot on purpose to come across as a married



Banggeon, everyday hat worn over a topknot | Detail from Portrait of Yun Jip | 19th century | National Museum of Korea

man. A false topknot of this kind was called *geonsangtu*. Topknots were fixed in place with a hairpin called *donggot* made of gold, silver or bronze, and a headband called *mangeon* was tied around the forehead to prevent any hairs from falling over the face. An ornament called

pungjam was placed in the center of the headband to keep a hat in place as various types of hats were worn over the topknot.

King Gojong, on the 16th day of the 11th month of 1895 (32nd year of reign), issued an edict that all adult men cut their hair short: "In front of the people I cut my hair first, so it is my wish that the people follow my will and carry out this great endeavor so that we may stand equal with the nations of the world." Regarding *danballyeong* (Kor. 단발령, Chin. 斷髮令, lit. cut hair order) the edict for men to cut their hair short, the magazine *Jogwang* said, "Proclaiming that cutting the hair short is good for hygiene and comfortable for work, the king, at a time when he is pursuing political reforms and making the nation strong, led by example and cut off his topknot first. Yu Giljung, minister of internal affairs, issued the order. Officials were sent to homes to cut off topknots and police were also sent into the streets and around the city gates with scissors to forcibly cut off any topknots they saw. The topknot, considered as rare as a jewel and as precious as one's life, fell to the ground like the autumn leaves with one movement of the scissors, and the sight was wretched indeed." Confucian scholars in their scholar's caps (*yugeon*) considered cutting the hair short to be the custom of barbarians and wrote appeals to the king for the order to be remanded. The ordinary people also fiercely protested, saying they would rather die than cut off their hair. Gojong attempted to appease the people and help them to better understand the interests that were involved, then laid down the same order the following year, but still public sentiment on the issue remained unchanged.

In regard to the short hair order, the history book *Maecheon yarok* (Kor. 매천야록, Chin. 梅泉野錄, Eng. *Memoirs of Hwang Hyeon*) records



Men with their hair in a topknot |
Detail from *Wrestling* by Kim Hongdo



Bare heads with hair worn in a topknot |
Detail from *Lunch* by Kim Hongdo

that people went to the countryside to avoid cutting their hair and some of those whose hair had been cut carried their topknots in their pockets and left the capital, loudly weeping. It says, "As word spread that people would have to cut their hair, in the tenth month the Japanese minister threatened the king and told him to cut his hair as soon as possible. When the time came, Yu Giljun and Jo Huiyeon, leading Japanese soldiers, surrounded the capital and installed canons then announced that anyone who did not obey the order to cut their hair would be killed. At this, Gojong heaved a great sigh and turning to Jeong Byeong-ha suggested that he cut his hair for him. Jeong Byeongha took up the scissors and cut the king's hair while Yu Giljun cut the crown prince's hair. As the shorthair order had already been issued, the laments were so loud they shook heaven and the people were so enraged that they threatened to kill themselves. In the midst of such uproar the Japanese made soldiers standby and Heo Jin, the central police commissioner, leading the soldiers, stood in the streets to stop people passing by and with their swords cut off the topknots of people they came across. They also went around private homes and it was impossible to avoid having one's hair cut without being very well hidden. Those who happened to be visiting Seoul and had their cut put their topknots in their pockets and left the capital wailing. The hair was cut but was not shaved close to the head. Only the topknot was cut off, leaving the rest of the hair so that everyone looked like long-haired monks. Only women and children could avoid having their hair cut. Yi Dojae, the minister of education, protested and quitting his post went back to his hometown."

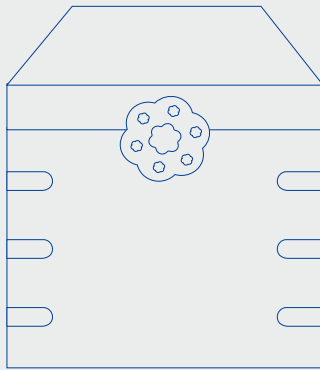
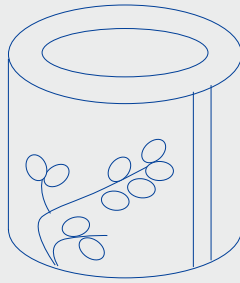
The battle over topknots developed into political conflict, giving opposing forces, cen-

tered on a pro-Russian faction, the opportunity to plot. This brought tragedy once again to the enlightenment faction. The edict for men to cut their hair was issued in 1895 in the midst of the Eulmi reforms, but even ten years later people were still refusing to cut off their topknots and abandon tradition. People did not like the look of short hair and derided men without topknots as *kkakkajung* (bald-headed monks) while the school authorities asked students to shave their heads, leading some students to drop out of school.

As the representative Korean men's hairstyle from ancient times till the haircut edict of 1895, the topknot was worn by men after marriage or coming-of-age by brushing their hair up to the top of the head and putting it into a high knot that was fixed in place with a hairpin. During the Joseon period people adhered to the Confucian teaching of *sinchebalbu* (Kor. 신체발부, Chin. 身體髮膚), meaning one's body, hair and skin all came from one's parents and therefore filial piety begins by ensuring that no part of the body is damaged or wounded. Under this teaching the hair was considered precious, and with the order to cut their topknots, many Confucian scholars strongly protested saying, "We would rather cut our two hands and feet than cut our hair." Hence topknots were maintained for a long time until the order was strongly enforced after the loss of national sovereignty in 1910 and the rule of the Japanese Government-general began.

Makeup

화장



Bit

빗
Comb

Comb used to tidy up the hair.

In the past, Koreans used a variety of combs to tidy their hair. Before 1895 when the edict prohibiting topknots was implemented, Koreans had long hair. Therefore, regardless of social status, everyone used combs to groom their hair, and it seems all homes had a tool of some kind for this purpose. Under the influence of Confucianism, Koreans of that time believed that practicing caution to ensure their bodies were

not hurt, not even a single hair, was the beginning of filial duty, because their bodies had been given to them by their parents.

Bit are largely divided into two types: *ollebit* and *chambit*. The *ollebit* has a half-moon shape and is also called *wolso* (月梳), literally meaning “moon comb.” It has thick, sparse teeth and is essential for combing long hair. The *chambit* is a fine-toothed comb. In general, the hair was roughly combed with the *ollebit* then tidied up with the *chambit*. The *chambit* was not only used to make the hair look and feel smooth after combing it with the *ollebit* but was also used to remove dirt from the hair.

The bit was a daily necessity used by people in all walks of life from ancient to modern times. As a comb used to groom the hair, it is simple in shape and structure but has a variety of uses. The *ollebit* and the *chambit* have distinct functions. On top of their practical functions, they express the user’s wishes and are items of beauty thanks to the different designs and decorative features on them.



Comb | Length: 9 cm, Width: 5 cm



Wide-toothed comb | Length: 11 cm, Width: 7 cm

Comb | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea

Gyeongdae

경대 鏡臺
Mirror stand

A mirror stand consisting of a case for storage of cosmetics and related utensils and an in-built mirror.

The gyeongdae (K. 경대, Chin. 鏡臺, lit. mirror support) is a case with a mirror attached to the inside of the lid, which stands upright when opened. The height and angle of the mirror were fixed so that it could be comfortably used

by a person sitting on the floor.

The case has one to three drawers where cosmetics and utensils were stored after doing one's makeup. When the gyeongdae was not in use the lid was closed flat and the stand put out of the way in a corner or on top of a piece of furniture, such as a low stationery chest called *mungap*. The corners of the mirror stand are generally straight and flat but in some examples they are rounded.

Though mainly a cosmetics case used by women, gyeongdae were also used by men. For the literati and scholars, dressing properly so that one's hat and clothing were always neat and tidy was one of the basics of etiquette. They used gyeongdae especially when putting their hair in order, such as when doing it up in a top-knot. Gyeongdae used by women were large and sumptuously decorated with metal ornaments.

Gyeongdae were found not only in ordinary



Keunmeori yeoin (Woman Wearing Big Wig) | attributed to Kim Hongdo | Late Joseon Dynasty | Seoul National University Museum of Art

homes but in the royal palace also. The court of Joseon sent them as gifts when envoys went on missions to China and also received gifts of mirror stands from the court of Japan. Gyeongdae were also made for use at state funerals, and sadness over the death of a queen was expressed in terms of an empty gyeongdae whose scent has disappeared.

Seeking beauty is one of the basic desires of women. Past and present, it is the unchanging wish of women to enhance their beauty and hide any parts that are not beautiful. Therefore, women of the past put camellia oil in their hair to make it shine, shaped their eyebrows into thin crescents with ink, and tinted their cheeks the color of peaches and their lips the color of cherries. They also covered their faces with white powder to make their skin look pale.

While primarily a functional item used to enhance one's appearance, gyeongdae were also decorated with designs and ornaments symbolizing wishes for longevity, good fortune, health and peace. The structure and decoration of the mirror stand express beauty and wishes for stability at the same time. As a piece of small furniture used in everyday life, the gyeongdae was both practical and ornamental. Indeed, it is a condensed version of Joseon lacquered wooden furniture in form, structure and decorative designs, while the designs and their arrangement reflected the financial conditions and ambience of a household.



Gyeongdae | Height: 12 cm, Width: 13 cm, Length: 17 cm |
Late Joseon Dynasty | National Folk Museum of Korea

Encyclopedia of
Traditional Korean Clothing

한국의생활사전

MATERIAL AND DYEING

옷의 재료와 염색

Fabric 천

Dyeing 염색

Designs 무늬

Plant designs 식물무늬

Animal designs 동물무늬

Nature designs 자연산수무늬

Auspicious designs 기물무늬

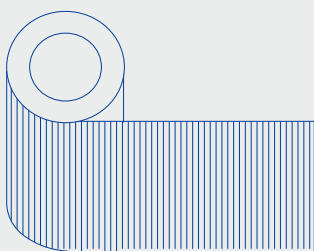
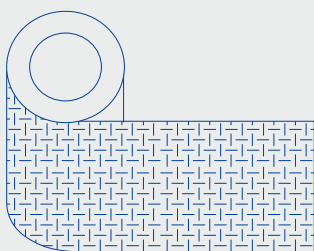
Chinese-character designs 문자무늬

Geometric designs 기하무늬

Figure designs 인물무늬

Fabric

직물



Dan

단緞
Satin

Silk fabric made with the satin weave.

Dan has a long history. It started to be made in the late Goryeo period and its production continues to this date using jacquard weaving machines. Using different colors, motifs, and weaving methods, a variety of satin was produced to make clothes for men and women of all ages as well as a variety of handicrafts. Since the nation's modernization, in addition to traditional satin-weave fabrics, *dan* with colorful stripes, *mobondan* (brocade), *daehwadan*, *beopdan*, *hobakdan*, *godan*, and *gongdan* were manufactured and widely used to make *hanbok* (traditional clothes) and bedding.

thickness, resulting in an evenly woven fabric, is called *seju*. This is made with smooth, untwisted thread to make a flat and glossy surface and is of higher quality than normal ju.

Classification of ju fabric in Korea can be found in texts such as *Samguk sagi* (*History of the Three Kingdoms*) and *Goryeosa* (*History of Goryeo*). *Gyeon* or *cho* are fine quality, high-priced fabrics. Ju was the fabric used for outer garments worn by members of the *yukdupum* class ("head rank six") of Silla. The *myeonju*⁸² variety of ju was widely used to make outer garments and socks (*boseon*) by the *yukdupum* class, pants and socks by the *odupum* class ("head rank five"), outer garments, undergarments, and socks by the *sadupum* ("head rank four") class.

82. A type of silk.

Mosi

모시
Ramie

Ramie, a fabric woven with fibers from the stalks of ramie plants.

Ju

주紬
Medium-quality plain-weave silk

Medium-quality silk fabric made with plain weave.

Ju (Kor. 주, Chin. 紬, lit. silk) is basically an undecorated fabric but when it does have designs it is called *munju*. (lit. patterned silk). Compared to other plain-weave silks such as *cho* or *gyeon*, ju is made with spun threads rather than filaments and therefore is less glossy and has a rougher surface. However, a type of ju made with warp and weft threads of a regular

Compared to other bast fiber plants, ramie fibers are comparatively long, strong and glossy and highly durable. They are especially strong in water and light and for these reasons were widely used not only for clothing but also various everyday household items. In Korea's hot and humid summers, the dry texture of ramie prevented it from sticking to the skin, making it popular for summer clothes.

Though ramie is a fabric that has been produced around the world from ancient times

some of the processes used to make ramie in Korea are unique to the country. The process of splitting the ramie into fine threads for fine ramie (*semosi*), especially the kind known as *boreumsae* (fifteen-ply, *boreum* meaning fifteen), calls for great skill and technique. Fine ramie can only be made with the best ramie plants and is synonymous with Hansan mosi, or ramie made in Hansan. *Imwon gyeongjeji*⁸³ (*Records of the Rural Economy*) says that it is the Korean custom to steam ramie in a room—if the volume is small it is steamed in a pot and if the volume is large a steaming room is used—and that the Korean method of making ramie is not found in China. The method of soaking the ramie in ashy water and placing it in a steaming room to bleach is a method used only in Korea from long in the past.

Ramie is generally made in grades of seven *sae* to fifteen *sae*. Those above ten *sae* are considered to be fine ramie. The higher the number of *sae* the finer the cloth. Fine ramie is a refined textile that has the transparency of a dragonfly's wings. Its light texture, subtle sheen and dry feel are the qualities unique to ramie.

83. Encyclopedia-type book on rural life written by Seo Yugu (1784-1845).

Mumyeong

무명
Cotton cloth

Traditional cotton cloth made with cotton fibers.



Mosi | National Folk Museum of Korea



Coat made of ramie cloth | Length: 123 cm, Chest: 53 cm, Hwajang: 66 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

Cotton trees started to be cultivated in Korea on a full scale around 1363 in the late Goryeo Dynasty (12th year of the reign of King Gongmin) when Mun Ikjeom (1331-1400) brought back cotton seeds from a country known then as Gyojiguk (Vietnam today).

Cotton is a natural fiber, the one that is most human friendly and hygienic. From the past to modern times it has been used not only for clothing but various other uses, including daily implements. Cotton is characterized by its artlessness and simplicity and was the most commonly worn cloth for Korean attire, from the scholar-official class to the ordinary people.

Mumyeong was in great demand as fabric for clothing because it could be worn all year round in any season and was easy to wash. Even today people who like the texture of traditional mumyeong use it to make modern clothes, but as an alternative unbleached cotton (*gwangmok*) and calico (*ogyangmok*) are used. However,



Mumyeong | National Folk Museum of Korea



Myeongju | National Folk Museum of Korea

mumyeong is only used for lined or unlined blankets while calico is used for mourning clothes. Just decades ago mumyeong was used to make men's lined pants, cotton padded jackets (*jeogori*), vests, coats (*durumagi*), unlined pants and unlined jackets. It was also used to make women's skirts, jackets, unlined jackets, drawers, wide underpants, and *durumagi* coats. The finest cotton cloth was used to make skirts with a lining of fine silk dyed light jade or pink.

Myeongju

명주 明紬

High-quality plain-weave silk

Plain weave silk made from the fibers of silkworm cocoons.

Myeongju is one of the basic traditional fabrics used today. Traditionally myeongju was made at home by directly producing silken threads and weaving them on the loom. But with the Westernization of Korean dress people stopped wearing *hanbok*, the traditional attire, in everyday

life, and the appearance of synthetic textiles and other changes led to the decline in hand-weaving. Unlike ramie or hemp cloth, which cannot be produced without complex hand processes when making the threads and weaving the cloth, myeongju could be mass produced on a modified loom so traditional myeongju weaving rapidly declined. Later, hand-made myeongju was called *sonmyeongju*, *son* meaning “hand,” to distinguish it from the machine-made version. Hand-made myeongju has a more natural feel than the machine-made version.

To make myeongju, first the cocoons spun by silkworms are placed in boiling water and the fibers are extracted. The process of extracting silk threads from the cocoons is called *sils-seogi*, and the threads from ten cocoons makes ten ten-ply threads, which is used to weave silk of ordinary quality. If there are 20 cocoons, the strands are thin and if there are 30 cocoons the threads are very thin like spiderwebs. The threads extracted from the cocoons are starched and dried and then wound on the loom. Silk is woven by pushing the foot back and forth below the loom. Myeongju of one *sae* (warp thread) is 20-ply, fifteen *sae* is 300-ply, which makes silk that is rather thick, while 20 *sae* is

400-ply, which is myeongju of the finest quality. The norm is usually 15 to 20 *sae*. In the past the starch used on myeongju threads was made by boiling seaweed, but this has been replaced by powdered starch mixed in water. In the past, starch was also made by removing the skin and thorns from cacti in the shape of the palm of the hand and grinding the pulp to obtain a sticky juice which was mixed with powdered pine nuts. This was a precious product used only to starch the clothes of elderly family members.

Neung

능綾

Twill weave silk

Silk fabric made with the twill weave.

Twill-weave fabrics were the major type of fabric used during the Three Kingdoms period and the Goryeo Dynasty. Despite the decrease in production of *neungna* (heavy silk and thin silk) during the Joseon Dynasty, considering that the term *neungnajang* was used to refer to workshops where heavy and light silks were made twill-weave silk remained one of the major varieties of silk fabrics of Joseon.

Sa

사紗

Thin silk made with gauze and leno weave

Generic term for light, thin silk made with the leno weave.

The Chinese character for sa (Kor. 사, Chin. 紗, lit. silk) combines the meanings of *sa* (Chin. 絲, lit. thread) and *so* (Kor. 소, Chin. 少, lit. little) to represent “little thread.” As suggested by this name, sa fabric is characterized by its looseness, lightness, and thinness. According to *Jaemulbo* (*Written Account on Civilization and Institutions*), an encyclopedic book compiled by Yi Manyeong in the late Joseon Dynasty, sa is the lightest among the silk varieties. Sa is a Korean traditional fabric that continues to be produced to this date and comes in different types according to weave and patterns.

In general, sa is silk cloth produced using the leno weave in which two warp threads are twisted around the weft thread. Where the two warp threads intersect a square space is created, which in turn gives rise to holes in the fabric. As a result, sa fabric is thin and translucent. In addition, due to its rough surface resulting from the twist of the warp threads, this thin silk cloth is used to make *hanbok* (traditional Korean attire) for spring, fall, and summer wear.

Sambe

삼베

Hemp cloth

Hemp fabric made by stripping the bark of hemp plants to make thread that is woven into cloth.

Sambe is one of the major traditional textiles used in Korea, along with cotton, ramie, and silk. It is cloth made by peeling the bark off hemp plants and splitting it into thin strips to make the threads, which go through a number

of different processes before they are woven on the loom. Of all the traditional textiles, hemp cloth was the most common and was worn by the ordinary people. *Myeongju* silk was a high-class textile, ramie was so fragile that it tended to crumble by the time winter came around, and cotton only appeared after cotton seeds were introduced to Korea. Unlike silk, which comes from animals, hemp comes from plants, like ramie and cotton. Historically, hemp is the oldest Korean textile and was made and used around the country. The book *Joseonbu* (Chin. *Zhaoxianfu*) written by the Ming Dynasty envoy Dong Yue (董越) in 1490 mentions the phrase “*poiijingma*” (布而織麻), which means “Joseon fabric is made with hemp.” This attests to the production of cloth with the hemp plant during the Joseon period.

Like ramie, hemp cloth allows good air circulation and is consequently used to make items for hot humid summers, such as light clothing or unlined blankets. It was also used widely in funerals. *The Book of Rites* says shrouds and mourning clothes are made of hemp. Hemp was a common material used by the ordinary people and mandating the use of hemp for mourning clothes allowed all people to carry out funeral rites properly. Mourning clothes were made of coarsely woven hemp cloth with a low thread count because seeing one’s parents die was considered the result of a lack of filial piety. An unfilial child was considered a sinner, and thus coarse hemp mourning clothes were worn as a sign of the sinner. Hemp cloth rapidly began to disappear going into the second half of the 20th century. Production dropped drastically when machine-made textiles were widely supplied. With legislation of the hemp control act in 1976, hemp growing and production sites were controlled nationwide. Today, only a small num-



Sambe (Hemp cloth) | National Folk Museum of Korea

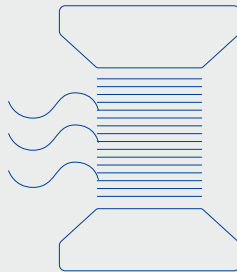
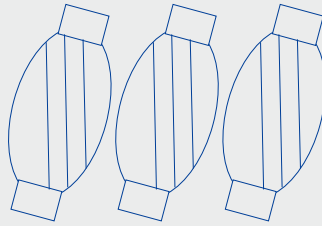
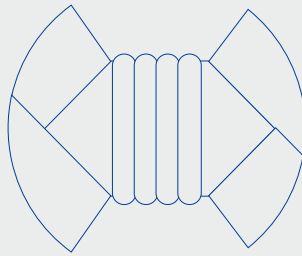


Daesujanggung (Mourning robe) | Length: 129 cm, Chest: 60 cm, Hwajang: 89 cm | 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea

ber of regions produce hemp cloth, which in industrial society has become a luxury, high-quality fabric. When traditional cotton (*mumyeong*) was replaced by calico, and silk was made by machine, hemp cloth, which could not be made in factories, rose in value and maintained its tradition as a handcraft. These days hemp cloth is mostly used to make shrouding garments.

Dyeing

염색



Yeomsaek

염색 染色

Dyeing

Coloring cloth, threads, and *hanji* paper with dyes.

To dye fabrics or thread requires several processes such as dyeing solution extraction, immersion, and mordanting and a range of techniques accordingly. As shown in the colors of costumes seen in ancient Goguryeo tomb murals, a piece of dyed cloth attached to the saddle excavated from Cheonmachong (Tomb of the Heavenly Horse), and the coloring of a mat from Unified Silla that is preserved at Shosoin repository in Japan, and the name of colors of clothing worn during the Three Kingdoms period, it is evident that Koreans used dyed cloth before the Three Kingdoms period. Dyeing techniques and practices had already been formed by that time, with dip dyeing and *holchigi*⁸⁴ used to create motifs.

Extant records and techniques related to dyeing are mostly from Joseon, as reflected in the classification of dye stuff and perceived meaning of colors reflected in *obang jeongsae* (five colors which represent *yang*: red, blue, yellow, white and black) and *obang gansaek* (five colors which represent *yin*). As a result, dip dyeing methods that generally produced *jeongsae* and *gansaek* were highly developed in Korea. On the other hand, pattern dyeing techniques used to create designs on dyed fabrics were prominent in Japan.

Korea's traditional dyeing techniques in terms of method, dyeing sequences, and dyeing solution extraction do not differ from those of other countries. However, traditional mor-

dants have been used, which include lye, alum, *cheoljang* (cast iron water), vinegar, as well as omija, shells, and lime. Since ancient times, lye has been made by adding water to the ashes of goosefoot, Asian sweet leaves, shell peas, wormwood stalks and camellias. In particular, lye made with the ashes of goosefoot is mostly used for safflower dyeing and lye made with the ashes of Asian sweet leaves is mostly used to dye with gromwell. Alum is used to dye cloth red with madder or Jamaica wood, and cast iron water is often used to color cloth different shades of black. Vinegar made from fermented brown rice, omija vinegar, and plum is used to dye cloth red. In particular, omija vinegar was often used for safflower dyeing. In addition, lime is indispensable for fermenting the indigo plant, and in the Jeolla provinces cockle shells are generally used for indigo dyeing.

When dyed cloth or thread were stored, traditional methods of starching and beetling were employed to prevent color development or discoloration. Since ancient times, bletilla roots, Ceylon moss, fermented starch, and potato starch were most often used for starching. In particular, when bletilla roots are soaked in water and heated, starch oozes out of them. When a little bit of glue is added to the starch, its performance improves. According to *Gyuhap chongseo* (*Women's Encyclopedia*), when cloth dyed with indigo is not starched with bletilla roots the desired indigo blue cannot be obtained.

Different types of silk were starched with Ceylon moss because silk cloth could be stored for a long time without discoloration. To make the starch, Ceylon moss was soaked in water and boiled at low heat and the liquid strained through a cotton cloth placed on a wicker tray. In the case of fermented starch paste, if rice is used the starch will be discolored. To avoid this,



Mother chrysanthemum



Tumeric plan



Common madder



Pomegranate



Chinese redbud



Purple gromwell



Indigo



Safflower



Arthur cork tree bark

Yeomsaek | National Folk Museum of Korea



Naturally dyed thread, Winner of the President's Award in the 15th traditional handcraft competition | Lee Byeongchan

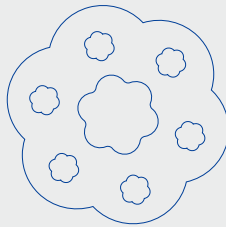
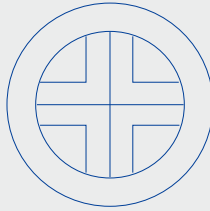
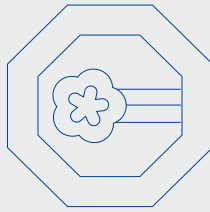
cooked rice that has gone bad should be used to make starch paste. This fermented starch paste was widely used as it gives cloth greater stiffness and does not stain. Starch paste extracted from potatoes was frequently used in the Chungcheong provinces. Potatoes were ground and the starch left to sink to the bottom and the water drained. Uncooked taros, starch paste, and egg whites were also used to starch dyed cloth. In particular, when foamy egg whites are used for starching they add gloss to the fabric. If egg whites are used with glue, the starched cloth becomes stiff like leather.

In addition to starching as a means to store dyed cloth, hand beetling and pressing had the effect of coating the surface and adding luster. Because of the noise of traditional beetling, these days cloth is starched with fermented starch paste and is ironed to add shine. Washing cloth dyed with old safflowers in vinegar water helps the cloth to regain brightness. Colored ramie cloth is wrapped in paper dyed with persimmon juice, which helps to reduce damage to the cloth.

84. Resist-dyeing method using threads or strings, which was referred to as *holchigiyeom* or tie-dying in Korea. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*)

Designs

무늬



PLANT DESIGNS

식물무늬

Gwasil munui

과실무늬
Fruit design

Designs of auspicious fruits that symbolize longevity, many sons, and great fortune.

The fruit designs favored in traditional fabrics are largely divided into four types: grape designs; calabash designs; peach, pomegranate, and Buddha's hand designs, which are collectively called *samda munui*, meaning designs of three things symbolizing many sons; and lychee, persimmon and *gyu-won* designs, collectively called *samwon munui*, meaning design of three round motifs. Fruit designs began to appear around the 16th century and gained popularity between the 17th and 18th centuries. The increased popularity of fruit designs reflects change in Joseon scholar-officials' perception of nature. At the time, Confucian scholars attempted to find the workings of the universe in nature, shifting their attention from the inner world to the physical world, particularly to natural phenomena. Fruit designs grew even more popular in the 19th century due to rising public interest in expelling evil spirits or lucky signs in the wake of economic and social difficulties. People believed that wearing clothes decorated with auspicious designs would bring good fortune and sought psychological comfort by praying for good fortune.

Moran munui

모란무늬
Peony design

Designs based on the peony motif.

Because of the peony's beauty and symbolism of wealth and honor, the



Grape and squirrel design | Part of *dangui* discovered at Andong Gwon family tomb | Early 18th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Schematic grapes and squirrel design | Part of *dangui* discovered at Andong Gwon family tomb | Early 18th century | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage



Pomegranate and pomegranate flower design | Part of *chima* discovered at Andong Gwon family tomb | Early 18th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Schematic pomegranate and pomegranate flower design | Part of *chima* discovered at Andong Gwon family tomb | Early 18th century | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage



Peony vine design | Part of *jeogori* excavated at Janggi Jeong family tomb | Around 17th century | Andong National University Museum



Schematic peony vine design | Part of *jeogori* excavated at Janggi Jeong family tomb | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage

peony along with the lotus has been an important motif in textiles decoration. It has been expressed in various ways using the techniques of weaving, gold leaf and embroidery. The peony emerged as a design for handicraft items around a thousand years later than the lotus blossom. During the Joseon Dynasty the peony design was not only widely used in textiles but also embroidery. In the late Joseon Dynasty the peony design became widespread and was used in ordinary homes as a symbol of wealth and honor. Joseon was a strict class society but the peony was loved and used by everyone from the upper class to the ordinary people. It was an essential design on wedding articles such as the bridal robe *hwarot*, cutlery cases, and wrapping cloths for *ham*, the bridal chest brought by the groom. It was also found embroidered on all sorts of everyday items, including curtains, bridles, ribbons, *jobawi* (hat) and *norigae* (pendant).

Sagunja munui

사군자무늬

Designs of the Four gracious plants

Designs of plum blossoms, orchids, chrysanthemums, and bamboo as an analogy for the character of the *gunja*, the noble man or ideal person of Confucianism.

Plum blossoms are among the first flowers to herald the arrival of spring. Since they bloom out of dry old trees before the leaves come out, they were used as a symbol of a new start, spring, longevity, and rejuvenation. In addition, the proud loneliness of these flowers blooming in early spring was likened to the constancy and integrity of the noble man who withstands hardship without yielding to injustice. Plum blossoms were frequently used independently in the 19th century before the appearance of sagunja munui, or designs of the four gracious plants, in fabrics.

Orchids grow in the forest but never fail to give off their scent, even if nobody comes to see them. Likewise, the noble man was said to never give up on his principles due to poverty. In addition, it is said the friendship between noble men is as fragrant as a room full of orchids. The orchid design began to appear on fabrics in the mid-Joseon period and appeared as part of the sagunja munui rather than being used alone or was used with other diverse auspicious signs, as seen in a blanket discovered from the tomb of

the Jeong Family of Dongnae from the 17th century. More often than not, orchid designs were realistically expressed with detailed depiction of the long, thin leaves, small flowers, and even the roots.

Chrysanthemums are one of the plants with the longest history of appreciation in Eastern civilization. As they finally flower after enduring late frosts, they were used as a symbol of dignity and integrity. After Tao Yuanming, a Chinese poet (365–427), once admired chrysanthemums, these flowers became inseparable from the image of the noble man. Since the spirit of scholars whose righteousness does not succumb to injustice seems to have an analogy to the nature of these flowers, they were also called *eunilhwa* (lit. flower of seclusion) and as such were compared to a hermit who lived in hiding from the secular world. Chrysanthemums were first grown in Korea in the Three Kingdoms period, and have since then been used in diverse designs. Chrysanthemum designs were key motifs on the burial urns of Unified Silla, and on the celadon, lacquerware inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and metal crafts of Goryeo. During the Joseon period, they were widely used along with plum blossoms, orchids, and bamboo designs to represent the dignity and constancy of the noble man. On fabrics, chrysanthemum motifs were frequently used in harmony with other flowers and plants such as lotuses, peonies, orchids, plum blossoms, and bamboo.

Bamboo is usually hollow but characterized by its strong and flexible nature. Since it does not change color throughout the year, it was used as a symbol of dignity, constancy, and integrity. In addition, since bamboo is prolific and evergreen, it was also used to symbolize eternal life and permanence.



Four gracious plants design | Detail of *dangjeogori* worn by King Yeongchin's consort | National Palace Museum of Korea



Four gracious plants and peony design | Part of cloth discovered at Andong Kim family tomb | Onyang Folk Museum

Sagyejeolkkot munui

사계절꽃무늬

Flower designs of the four seasons

Flower designs that represent each of the four seasons.

Sagyejeol kkonmuni, also called *sagyechwamun*, refers to designs of four flowers that each represent one of the four seasons in Korea.

Designs of four kinds of small flowers such as sagyejeol kkonmuni were first found on fabrics discovered in Taesamyo Shrine in Andong and



Sagyejeol kkonneongkul munui (Four season flower vine design) | Part of *jangot* discovered at Yeoheung Min family tomb | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Schematic four season flower vine design | Part of *jangot* discovered at Yeoheung Min family tomb | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage

appeared more frequently during the Joseon Dynasty. Particularly, in the 17th century these flower designs gained great popularity and the flowers were realistically expressed. Among the flowers used for the sagyejeol kkonmuni, peonies and peach blossoms were symbols of spring; lotus blossoms, crape myrtle (common zinnia), and pomegranate flowers as symbols of summer; chrysanthemums and begonias as symbols of autumn; and plum blossoms, camellias, and orchids as symbols of winter. Excavated relics from the Joseon period show that a variety of flowers were used to make flower designs. Nevertheless, peonies were most preferred as a symbol for spring; lotuses for summer, chrysanthemums for autumn, and plum blossoms for winter. The composition of peonies, lotuses, chrysanthemums, and plum blossoms was used most frequently.

Yeonkkot munui

연꽃무늬

Lotus blossom design

Designs of lotus blossoms.



Yeonkkot munui | Part of skirt excavated from the Tomb of Kim in Yeonan | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Yeonkkot munui | Part of *dallyeong* excavated from the Tomb of Uiwongun | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum

Few designs have been as widely loved in history as lotus designs. Due to its strong vitality, the lotus blossom was considered a symbol of creation and prosperity and this was the reason for its great popularity in ancient civilizations including Egypt, Greece, and Mesopotamia. In Eastern civilization, ancient Indians used the lotus as a key motif in connection with Buddhism. Lotus designs were transmitted from China to Korea along with Buddhism during the Three Kingdoms period. As leading examples, lotus blossom designs can be found in ancient Goguryeo tomb murals and also in Silla and Baekje metalcraft items and Buddhist architecture, including roof tiles. During the Goryeo Dynasty, lotus designs were employed in handcraft items such as celadon and lacquerware inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and in Buddhist paintings as a key motif on the robes worn by Buddhist icons. During the Joseon Dynasty, lotus flower designs were widely used in a variety of handcrafts as well as clothing.

ANIMAL DESIGNS

동물무늬

Bonghwang munui

봉황무늬

Phoenix design

Designs of the imaginary bird phoenix.

The earliest example of a phoenix design used in Korea is *jujak*, which appears in ancient tomb murals from the Three Kingdoms period. Initially, *jujak* was similar to bonghwang in form but there were clear differences in function and form. The *jujak* design represented the guardian deity of the south, whereas bonghwang designs, along with dragon designs, were used to symbolize the royal family. As a result, bonghwang designs became much more ornate, making a clear departure from *jujak*. As an historical record on Korean costume mentioning the use of phoenix designs in Korea, *Goryeosa (History of Goryeo)* says that the use of phoenix and dragon designs on clothes and articles used by the general populace in Seoul and the provinces shall be banned.⁸⁵ This indicates that during the Goryeo Dynasty the use of dragon and phoenix designs was restricted according to social status, and that these designs had been used even by ordinary citizens, which explains the wide use of dragon and phoenix designs in Goryeo textiles. During the Joseon Dynasty, restrictions were tightened on the use of dragon and phoenix designs, which hence became firmly established as symbols of royalty. According to records from the reign of King Sejong, “The king’s palanquin shall be decorated with gold, the exterior adorned with cloud and dragon designs and the interior with cloud and phoenix designs.” In addition, at the site of Hoeamsa Temple, known to have been patronized by the royal family, roof tiles with dragon and phoenix motifs were discovered, indicating that use of these imaginary animal designs was restricted to major buildings of royal palaces such as the offices or residential quarters of the king and queen. These records attest to the correlation between royalty and the phoenix design, which was symbolic of royalty.

As the phoenix was considered a mystical being with a noble nature,



Bonghwang munui |
Gyeonggi Provincial Museum
① Part of *chima* discovered at Dongnae Jeong family tomb,
② Part of *dansam* discovered at Pyeongyang Lee family tomb,
③ Part of *chima* discovered at Dongnae Jeong family tomb
④ Part of *jeogori* discovered at Sacheon Mok family tomb

phoenix designs were used to decorate royal buildings and items. In particular, from the 17th century and well into late Joseon, the phoenix design was used to magnificently decorate the ceremonial robes of royal women. As such it was regarded as a symbolic design of women of the royal family.

85. "*Eosadae* [Board of Censors] proposed that the king should ban the use of phoenix designs on clothing and articles used by the ordinary citizens living in Seoul and the provinces. The agency's request was accepted." Ninth month of 1025 (16th year of the reign of King Hyeonjong, included in the "Criminal Code" section of *Goryeosa*).

Giljimseung munui

길짐승무늬
Animal design

Designs of auspicious animals, excluding dragons.

Animal designs widely used in textiles include rabbit, sheep, squirrel, and deer designs. Kylin,⁸⁶ *baektaek*,⁸⁷ turtle, tiger and leopard, lion, *haechi*,⁸⁸ and tiger motifs were used on rank badges called *hyungbae*.

Animal designs were rarely used in ordinary fabrics but were frequently found on rank badges. An example of such designs on ordinary cloth are rabbit and sheep designs woven with gold thread dating to the Goryeo Dynasty. Afterwards, animal designs almost disappeared then around the 18th century grape and squirrel patterns became popular for a while. In the late Joseon Dynasty, deer and tortoise motifs were widely used on a variety of ornaments and monk's *kasaya* (*gasa*)⁸⁹ were adorned with rabbits. Animal designs used on rank badges produced before the 17th century included tiger and leopard, lion, and tiger designs, while *haechi*, tiger, and lion designs began to appear on rank badges produced after the 17th century. Around the 19th century twin tiger designs were used on the rank badges of higher military officials and a single tiger design for lower military officials, a practice that continued through late Joseon.

86. Mythical creature that could come and go between heaven and earth and was worshiped as an auspicious animal. ("Painting of Kylin" in the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

87. *Baektaek* is a mythical animal that is said to speak human language and know everything about the world. It looks like a kylin but has cloven hoofs. ("*Hyungbae*" in the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)

88. *Haetae* is a mythical animal that is said to have the ability to judge between right and wrong, and good and evil. The *haetae* is called *haechi* in Chinese characters.

89. Monks wear a robe called *kasaya* over the *jangsam*, a monastic robe with wide sleeves, when rites are held. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)



Tokki munui, Schematic rabbit design | Part of the pocket area of Amitabha's robe | Goryeo | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage



Girin hyungbae, Rank badge embroidered with a kylin worn by Regent Heungseon Daewongun | Width: 25.5 cm, Height: 23.1 cm | Joseon | National Museum of Korea



Saja hyungbae, Rank badge with lion design | Width: 37.5 cm, Height: 33 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Ssangho hyungbae, Rank badge with twin tiger design | Width: 21 cm, Height: 22.5 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Geobuk hyungbae, Rank badge with turtle design | Width: 21 cm, Height: 24 cm | Joseon | National Folk Museum of Korea



Haechi hyungbae, Rank badge with haechi design | Detail from the Portrait of Yi Jungro | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Dragonfly design | Part of *jeogori* discovered from Papyeong Yun family tomb | 16th century | Korea University Museum



Butterfly design | Part of shrouding shoes discovered at Cheongsong Sim family tomb | 18th century | Chungbuk National University Museum



Schematic bee and butterfly design | Part of *samhoejang jeogori* excavated at Hong Uhyeop's tomb | 17th century | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage



Bee design | Part of *cheongeum* discovered at Yeoheung Min family tomb | 17th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum

Gonchung munui

곤충무늬
Insect design

Designs featuring butterflies, bees, dragonflies and other insects (*gonchung*).

Insect designs employed on textiles include dragonflies, bees, and butterflies, though they are less common than other designs. The main insect motif used is the butterfly. In most cases, butterflies were not used on their own but in combination with flowers or bees. In particular, during the late Joseon Dynasty, butterfly motifs were frequently used on women's clothing and ornaments.

Naljimseung munui

날짐승무늬
Bird design

Designs of birds, excluding the phoenix.

Designs featuring birds, or winged animals (*naljimseung*), though not frequently used on textiles, were mostly used as symbols of the royal family or government officials. The royal family used pheasant designs on ceremonial robes such as *myeonbok* worn by the king along with the royal crown and on *jeogui*⁹⁰ worn by the queen, and the mandarin duck design on royal women's ceremonial robes. These bird motifs were woven or embroidered in gold or colored threads, or were stamped with gold leaf. As the emblem of government officials, bird designs were employed on *hyungbae* (rank badges) and *husu* (decorative back panel worn over ceremonial attire). Bird motifs found on the clothes of the upper classes were woven in the same color as the cloth.

90. Ceremonial robe worn by the queen, the crown princess, and the consort of the crown prince's first son, who carry on the main line of descent in the royal family. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*).



Rank badge with peacock design | Detail from the Portrait of Jang Man | 17th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Rank badge with clouds and wild geese design | Detail from Portrait of Yu Sunik | 17th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Rank badge with crane design | Detail from the Portrait of Hwang Jin | 17th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Rank badge with cloud and crane design | Detail from the portrait of Yi Sebaek | 18th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Bat design in part of ayam deurim | Early 20th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Pheasant design on the jeogui worn by King Yeongchin's consort | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Yungbo, royal rank badge |
Portrait of King Taejo | 1872 |
Royal Portrait Museum



Yungbo, royal rank badge |
Portrait of King Yeongjo |
1900 | National Palace Museum
of Korea



Yungbo, royal rank badge |
Part of magoja excavated from
the Tomb of Yi Yeoneung |
Mid-19th century | Gyeonggi
Provincial Museum



Yungbo, royal rank badge |
Part of wonsam worn by Queen
Sunjeonghyo | Modern era |
Sejong University Museum

Yong munui

용무늬
Dragon design

Designs featuring the mythical dragon.

Since dragons were considered to have the ability to ward off evil spirits and serve as guardians, they were used as a symbol of royal dignity and power. They were also viewed as a magical animal by the commoners.

As the dragon design was used in *golhyongpo*, the king's robe, and royal flag called *gyoryonggi* that signals a royal procession, it conveyed the message that the dragon was the symbol of the king. In addition, in Korean folk culture, the person at the top of any given profession was likened to a dragon. As such, the gateway to a successful career was called *deungyongmun*, literally meaning "ascending to the dragon gate." Successful people from humble origins are often described as "a dragon rising from a small stream." Past Koreans sought to keep the magical power of the dragon as close as possible by decorating buildings, handcrafts, paintings, and costumes with dragon designs.



Blue dragon guardian deity | Yaksuri Ancient Tomb | Goguryeo

NATURE DESIGNS

자연산수무늬

Jayeonsansu munui

자연산수무늬

Design of natural features

Designs of natural features, including clouds, waves, and mountains.

Among these natural designs, clouds were the most frequently used, followed by waves, mountains, and rocks.

The cloud design was the most frequently used decorative design on fabrics. In the early Joseon Dynasty it was found on men's and women's clothes but in the second half of Joseon it was found only on men's clothes. Designs of mountains, rocks, and waves were mostly used on rank badges (*hyungbae*), *hwarot* (royal women's ceremonial robe), and cushions where they could be presented as a whole painting. After the 18th century, the use of cloud designs declined, except on *dallyeong* (robe with a round collar) worn as official uniform.



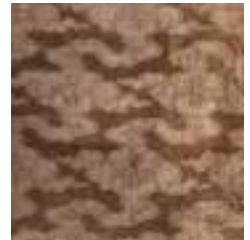
Landscape design | Part of *hyungbae* | 19th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Yeongjiun munui, Stylized cloud design | 14th century



Gureum bobae munui, Cloud and treasure design | Part of *jeogori* excavated from the Tomb of Yi in Pyongyang | 16th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Gureum munui, Cloud design | Part of coffin cover excavated from the Tomb of Min in Yecheon | 17th century | Gyeonggi Provincial Museum



Swastika-shaped cloud design | Part of *jeogori* excavated from the Tomb of Min in Yecheon | 17th century | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage

AUSPICIOUS DESIGNS

기물무늬

Bobae munui

보배무늬

Treasure design

Designs based on everyday items that were considered to bring luck and good fortune.

Such designs are commonly found in Korea, China, and Japan and reflect Eastern thought, which places greatest emphasis on the prosperity of families with many children, great wealth, comfort, and longevity. Bobae designs were widely used in various areas of everyday life including clothes, ornaments, everyday items, bedding, and furniture for their symbolism of good luck and elimination of evil spirits rather than their aesthetic quality or decorative function. Such designs found in fabrics were extensively used in everyday clothes worn by men and women, including jackets, skirts, robes such as *wonsam* and *dallyeong*, blankets, and wrapping cloths (*bojagi*) as well as on bedding and ceremonial attire. However, they were generally used as an auxiliary background design to supplement the main cloud or lotus blossom designs.



Schematic small flowers and treasure design |
Part of *jeogori* excavated at Yeonan Kim family tomb
| National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage



Design of eight auspicious symbols of Buddhism |
Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum

CHINESE-CHARACTER DESIGNS

문자무늬

Munja munui

문자무늬

Auspicious character design

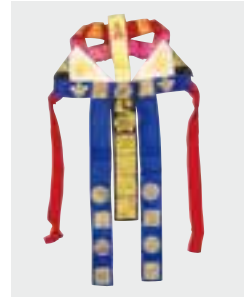
Design composed of auspicious letters and characters meaning good fortune.

Most of these designs consist of Chinese characters, which are hieroglyphs, each based on the shape of an object. Their ideographic form and the meaning embodied in them lend themselves to the development of designs. The first example of characters being used as a textile design in Korea was when a five-character poem of peace written by Queen Jindeok in 650 (5th year of reign) was woven in silk cloth and sent to the Tang Dynasty. The major characters used in textile designs are *su* (壽), meaning longevity; *bok* (福), meaning fortune; and *hui* (喜), meaning happiness, which were turned into rounded or square designs.

Character designs were used by everyone, regardless of age or gender. They were generally combined with another type of design and were not only woven into cloth but also stamped with gold leaf or embroidered. During the Joseon Dynasty they were used often on cloth and various clothing items such as *sagyusam*, *jeonbok*, *bokgeon*, *gulle*, *daenggi* (ribbon), *wonsam*, *hwarot*, *dangui*, *jeogori* (jacket), *jeonmo*, and *norigae* (pendant).



Chinese-character design on cotton cloth | Korea University Museum



Children's winter hat | National Folk Museum of Korea



King Yeongchin's *sagyusam*, children's ceremonial coat | Modern era | Sookmyung Women's University Museum



Empress Sunjeonghyo's *wonsam* | Modern era | Sejong University Museum

GEOMETRIC DESIGNS

기하무늬

Giha munui

기하무늬

Geometric design

Abstract geometric designs of lines, dots, and planes in a simple arrangement.

Geometric designs are abstract designs featuring dots, lines, planes and simple shapes. The use of such abstract designs began in prehistoric times when a variety of subject matter ranging from natural phenomena such as the sun, moon, mountains, water and lightning to humans and animals were expressed as simplified symbolic designs. A means of expression from the early days of human history, geometric designs not only fulfilled decorative purposes but also worked as symbolic representation of religion. There are diverse opinions on their scope because these designs are abstract. Some view the *taeguk* (great absolute), *palgwae*⁹¹ (eight trigrams) and Chinese character designs as geometric designs.

91. Signs that are used to identify and explain the essence of the natural and human worlds in the science of changes. (*Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture*)



Gwigap munui, Schematic tortoise-shell design | Part of fabric in Amitabha's robe | 14th century | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage



Geum munui, Schematic silk texture design | Part of *jeogori* excavated at Andong Gwon family tomb | 18th century | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage



Mareumkkot munui, Schematic diamond and flower design | Part of King Yeongchin's *magoja* | Modern era | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage



Mareumkkotgwa maedeup munui, Schematic diamond, flower, and knot design | Part of King Yeongchin's *changgui* | Modern era | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage

FIGURE DESIGNS

인물무늬

Dongja munui

동자무늬

Design of young boys

A design based on the motif of a boy child.

Dongja is the word used for a male child. In Buddhism it is a more concrete term referring to a male child older than four or eight but under twenty who has not yet left home to follow Buddhism. Moreover, bodhisattvas were also called *dongja* because they were considered to be the sons of Buddha and without carnal desire, like a child. The *dongja* design on ceramics, inlaid lacquered items, and other handicraft items is comparatively diverse in expression while on clothing it is not used alone but rather in combination with lotus or grapevine designs.

In the past when medicine was not well developed, having a large number of children signified prosperity. During the Joseon Dynasty, when there was a decided preference for male children, it was considered very important to have a son or many sons. The frequent use of the *dongja* design on wedding attire such as the bridal robe *hwarot* and hair ribbons is thought to reflect the traditional family system where continuation of the patriarchal family line was considered greatly important. It was rare for the *dongja* design to be used on its own on clothing. Designs combining lotuses and grapevines include the design of a boy holding a lotus blossom, which signifies the continual birth of baby boys (*yeongsaenggwija*), and a boy sitting on a lotus blossom, which signifies the idea of the birth of all things from the lotus (*yeonhwa hwasaeng*). The wedding robe *hwarot* often features an embroidered design of a young boy holding a lotus, and the hair ribbon features a gold leaf design of two young boys side by side. Moreover, the highest quality of cloth available at the time incorporated the lucky symbolism of the *dongja* design: it was cloth woven with golden threads (*geumseondan*) that featured a sumptuous design of grapevines and boys and could only be used by upper class families.



Young boy design on hwarot
| 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Young boy design on pendant worn by King Yeongchin's consort | Detail from three-part noriage with milhwa, sanho, gongjakseok ssangdongja ornaments | Modern era | National Palace Museum of Korea



Dongja munui on apdaenggi (hair ribbon suspended in front)
| 20th century | National Folk Museum of Korea



Design of young boys | Part of chima discovered at Cheongju Han family tomb | 16th century | Dankook University Seokjuseon Memorial Museum

APPENDIX

Romanization Guide

1. Romanization of Korean vowels

Simple vowels									
ㅏ	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅡ	ㅣ	ㅗ	ㅛ	ㅜ	ㅠ
[a]	[eo]	[O]	[u]	[eu]	[i]	[ae]	[e]	[oe]	[w]

Diphthongs										
ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅠ	ㅗ	ㅛ	ㅜ	ㅠ	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ
[ya]	[yeo]	[yo]	[yu]	[yea]	[ye]	[wa]	[wae]	[wo]	[we]	[ui]

2. Romanization of Korean consonants

Plosive consonants								
ㄱ	ㄲ	ㅋ	ㄷ	ㄸ	ㅌ	ㅂ	ㅃ	ㅍ
[g, k]	[kk]	[k]	[d, t]	[tt]	[t]	[b, p]	[pp]	[p]

Affricates		
ㄷ	ㄸ	ㄱ
[j]	[jj]	[ch]

Fricatives		
ㅅ	ㅆ	ㅎ
[s]	[ss]	[h]

Nasals		
ㄴ	ㅁ	ㅇ
[n]	[m]	[ng]

Liquid
ㄹ
[r, l]

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TRADITIONAL KOREAN CLOTHING

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